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King Charles

HIS

TRYAL

AT THE

High Court of Juſtice in WESTMINSTER Hall, begun *Jan.* 20. ended *Jan.* 27. 1648.

Together with his Speech on the Scaffold at his Execution at *White-Hall* Gate, *Jan.* 30th 1648.

To which is added, theſe ſeverall

SPEECHES

Deliver'd immediatly before their Executions; ſome of which were never printed before, *viz.*

The Earl of *Straſords.*	Earl of *Holland.*
Cap. *Hotham.*	Lord *Arthur Capell.*
Sir *John Hotham.*	Sir *Henry Hides.*
Sir *Alexander Carews.*	Col. *Andrews.*
Arch B. of *Canterbury.*	Earl of *Derby.*
Duke *Hamilton.*	

The third Edition with large Additions.

LONDON, Printed for *John Playford* and are ſold at his ſhop in the *Inner Temple*, 1655.

The manner of the Tryal of *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*, in the great Hall in *Weſtminſter*. *January* 20. 1648.

ON Saturday, being the twentieth day of *January* 1648. The Lord *Bradſhaw* Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice, with neer fourſcore of the Members of the ſaid Court, having ſixteen Gentlemen with Partizans, and a Sword, and a Mace, with their, and other Officers of the ſaid Court marching before them, came to the place ordered to be prepared for their ſitting, at the Weſt end of the great Hall in *Weſtminſter*, where the Lord Preſident in a Crimſon Velvet Chair, fixed in the midſt of the Court, placed himſelf, having a Desk with a Crimſon Velvet Cuſhion before him; The reſt of the Members placing themſelves on each ſide of him upon the ſeverall Seats, or Benches, prepared and hung with Scarlet for that purpoſe, and the Partizans dividing themſelves on each ſide of the Court before them.

The Court being thus ſet, and ſilence made, the great Gate of the ſaid Hall was ſet open to the

end, That all persons, without exception, desirous to see, or hear, might come into it, upon which the Hall was presently filled, and silence again ordered.

This done, Colonell *Thomlinson*, who had the charge of the Prisoner, was commanded to bring him to the Court, who within a quarter of an hours space brought him attended with about twenty Officers with Partizans marching before him, there being other Gentlemen, to whose care and custody he was likewise committed, marching in his Rear.

Being thus brought up within the face of the Court, The Sergeant at Arms, with his Mace, receives and conducts him streight to the Bar, having a Crimson Velvet Chair set before him. After a stern looking upon the Court, and the people in the Galleries on each side of him, he places himselfe, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwise shewing the least respect to the Court; but presently rises up again, and turnes about, looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the left side, and on the multitude of Spectators on the right side of the said great Hall. After Silence made among the people, the Act of Parliament, for the Trying of *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*, was read over by the Clerk of the Court; who sate on one side of the Table covered with a rich Turky Carpet, and placed at the feet of the said Lord President, upon which Table was also laid the Sword and Mace.

After reading the said Act, the severall names of the Commissioners were called over, every one who was present, being eighty, as aforesaid, rising up, and answering to his Call.

Having again placed himself in his Chair, with his

his face towards the Court, Silence being again ordered, the Lord Preſident ſtood up and ſaid

Lord Preſident. CHARLES STUART, King of *England*; The Commons of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, being deeply ſenſible of the Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation (which is fixed upon you as the principall Author of it) have reſolved to make inquiſition for Blood, and according to that Debt and Duty they owe to Iuſtice, to God, the Kingdome, and themſelves, and according to the Fundamentall Power that reſts in themſelves, They have reſolved to bring you to Tryal and Iudgement; and for that purpoſe have conſtituted this High Court of Iuſtice, before which you are brought.

This ſaid, M. *Cook* Attorney for the Commonwealth (ſtanding within a Bar on the right hand of the Priſoner) offered to ſpeak, but the King having a ſtaff in his hand, held it up, and laid it upon the ſaid M. *Cooks* ſhoulder two or three times, bidding him hold; Nevertheleſſe, the Lord Preſident ordering him to go on, he ſaid:

M. *Cook.* My Lord, I am commanded to charge *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, in the name of the Commons of *England*, with Treaſon and high Miſdemeanors; I deſire the ſaid Charge may be read.

The ſaid Charge being delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the Lord Preſident ordered it ſhould be read, but the King bid him hold; Nevertheleſs, being commanded by the Lord Preſident to read it, the Clerk begun.

The Charge of the Commons of *England* againſt *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*, of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes, exhibited to the High Court of Juſtice.

THat the ſaid Charles Stuart *being admitted King of* England, *and therein truſted with a* limited Power, *to govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwiſe; And by his Truſt, Oath, and Office, being obliged to uſe the Power committed to him*, For the good and benefit of the People, *and for the preſervation of their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheleſs out of a* wicked deſign, *to erect, and uphold in himſelf an unlimited and Tyrannical Power to rule* according to his Will, *and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; Yea, to take away, and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all redreſſe and remedy of miſgovernment, which by the fundamentall Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, were reſerved on the peoples behalfe, in the Right and Power of frequent and ſucceſſive Parliaments, or National meetings in Councel*; He, *the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *for accompliſhment of ſuch his* Deſigns, *and for the protecting of himſelfe and his adherents, in His, and Their* wicked Practiſes *to the ſame Ends, hath Trayterouſly and maliciouſly levyed War againſt the* preſent Parliament, and the People therein Repreſented.

Particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of June, *in the year of our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred fourty & two at* Beverley *in the County of* York; *and upon or about the thirtieth day of* July *in the year aforeſaid, in the County of the city of* York, *and upon, or about the twenty fourth day of* Auguſt, *in the ſame year, at the County of the Town of* Nottingham (*when, and where he ſet up* His Standard of War;)

And

And upon, or about the twenty third day of October *in the ſame year, at* Edg-Hill, *and* Keinton-field, *in the County of* Warwick; *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the ſame yea*, a Brainford, *in the County of* Middleſex: *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* Auguſt, *in the year of our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred forty and three, at* Caveſham bridge, *neer* Reding, *in the County of* Berks; *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* October, *in the year laſt mentioned, at, or neer the City of* Gloceſter; *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the year laſt mentioned, at* Newbery, *in the County of* Berks, *and upon, or about the one and thirtieth day of* July, *in the year of our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred forty and four, at* Cropredy-Bridge, *in the County of* Oxon; *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* September, *in the year laſt mentioned, at* Bodmin, *and other places neer adjacent, in the County of* Cornwall; *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the year laſt mentioned, at* Newbery *aforeſaid: and upon or about the eighth day of* June, *in the year of our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred fourty and five, at the Town of* Leiceſter; *and alſo upon the fourteenth day of the ſame month, in the ſame year, at* Naſeby-field, *in the County of* Northampton. *At which ſeveral times and places, or moſt of them, and at many other places in this Land, at ſeveral other times, within the years afore mentioned: And in the year of our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred fourty and ſix: He the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *hath cauſed and procured many thouſands of the Free-People of the Nation to be ſlaine; and by* Diviſions, Parties, and Inſurrections, *within this Land, by Invaſions from Forraign parts, endeavoured and procured by Him, and by many other evill wayes and means. He the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *hath not*

only maintained & carried on *the ſaid War*, both by land and Sea, *during the years before mentioned*; *but alſo* hath renewed, or cauſed to be renewed, the ſaid War *againſt the Parliament, and good People of this* Nation, *in this preſent year, One thouſand ſix hundred fourty and eight, in the Counties of* Kent, Eſſex, Surry, Suſſex, Middleſex, *and many other Counties and places in* England *and* Wales, *and alſo by* Sea: *And particularly, He the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *hath for that purpoſe*, given Commiſſion to his Son, *the Prince, and others*; *whereby*, beſides multitudes of other Perſons, *many ſuch, as were by the* Parliament intruſted and imployed *for the ſafety of the* Nation, *being by Him or His Agents, Corrupted, to the betraying of* Their Truſt, *and revolting from the Parliament, have had entertainment and Commiſſion, for the continuing and renewing of War and Hoſtility, againſt the ſaid* Parliament and People *as aforeſaid. By which* cruell and unnaturall *Wars by Him the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *levyed, continued, and renewed, as aforeſaid, much* Innocent Blood of the Free-people *of this* Nation *hath been ſpilt: many* Familes *have been* undone, *the* Publike Treaſury waſted and exhauſted, Trade obſtructed, and miſerably decayed; vaſt expence and damage to the Nation incurred, *and many* parts *of the* Land ſpoyled, *ſome of them even to* Deſolation.

And for further proſecution of his ſaid evil Deſigns, *He, the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *doth ſtill continue his Commiſſions to the ſaid Prince, and other* Rebels, *and* Revolters, *both Engliſh and* Forraigners, *and to the Earle of* Ormond, *and to the* Iriſh Rebels and Revolters, *aſſociated with him: from whom further* Invaſions *upon this Land are threatened, upon the procurement, and on the behalfe of the ſaid* Charles Stuart.

All

All which wicked Designs, Wars, *and evil practiſes of Him, the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *have been, and are carryed on, for the advancing and upholding of the Perſonal Intereſt of* Will and Power, *and pretended* Prerogative *to Himſelfe and his family, againſt the publique Intereſt, Common Right, Liberty, Juſtice, and Peace* Of the people of this Nation, *by, and for whom he was entruſted, as aforeſaid.*

By all which it appeareth, that he, the ſaid Charles Stuart, *hath been, and is the Occaſioner, Author, and Contriver of the ſaid Unnatural, Cruel, and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treaſons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, deſolations, Damage, and Miſchief to this Nation, acted or committed in the ſaid Wars, or occaſioned thereby.*

And the ſaid John Cook, *by Protеſtation (ſaving on the behalfe of the People of* England, *the liberty of Exhibiting at any time hereafter, any other Charge againſt the ſaid* Charles Stuart; *and alſo of replying to the anſwers which the ſaid* Charls Stuart *ſhal make to the premiſes, or any of them, or any other Charge that ſhall be ſo Exhibited: doth for the ſaid* Treaſons *and* Crimes, *on the behalf of the ſaid People of* England, *Impeach the ſaid* Charls Stuart, *as a* Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, *and a* publike, *and* Implacable Enemy *to the Common wealth of* England: *And pray, that the ſaid* Charls Stuart, *King of* England, *may be put to anſwer* All, *and* Every *the* Premiſes, *That ſuch* Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence, *and* Judgment *may be thereupon had, as ſhall be agreeable to Juſtice.*

IT is obſerved, that the time the Charge was reading, the King ſate down in his Chair, looking ſomtimes,

ſomtimes on the Court, ſomtimes up to the Galeries, and having riſen again, and turned about to behold the Guards and Spectators, ſate down, looking very ſternly with a countenance not at all moved, till theſe words *viz*. *Charls Stuart* (to be a *Tyrant* and *Traytor &c.*) were read, at which he laughed as he ſate in the face of the Court.

The Charge being read the Lord Preſident replyed:

Lord Preſident. Sir, you have now heard your Charge read, containing ſuch matters as appears in it; you ſinde, That in the cloſe of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the *Commons* of *England*, that you anſwer to your Charge. The Court expects your Anſwer

The King. I would know by what power I am called hither: I was, not long ago, in the *Iſle of Wight*, how I came there, is a longer ſtory than I thinke is fit at this time for me to ſpeak of; but there I entred into a *Treaty* with both Houſes of *Parliament* with as much publique faith as it's poſſible to be had of any people in the world. I treated there with a number of Honorable Lords and Gentelmen, and treated honeſtly & uprightly; I cannot ſay but they did very nobly with me, we were upon a concluſion of the *Treaty*. Now I would know by what Authority, I mean, lawful; there are many unlawful Authorities in the world, Theeves and Robbers by the high ways: but I would know by what Authority I was brought from thence, and carryed from place to place, (and I know not what) and when I know by what lawful Authority, I ſhall anſwer: Remember I am your King, and what ſins you bring upon your heads, and the Judgment of God upon this Land, thinke well upon it, I ſay thinke well upon it, before you go further from one

ſin to a greater; therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am ſeated here, & I ſhall not be unwilling to anſwer, in the mean time I ſhall not betray my Truſt. I have a Truſt committed to me by God, by old and lawful deſcent, I will not betray it to anſwer to a new unlawful Authority, therefore reſolve me that, and you ſhall hear more of me.

Lord Preſident. if you had been pleaſed to have obſerved what was hinted to you, by the *Court*, at your firſt coming hither, you would have known by what Authority; which Authority requires you, in the name of the people of *England*, of which you are Elected King, to anſwer them.

The King. No Sir, I deny that.

Lord Preſident. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the *Court*, they muſt proceed.

The King. I do tell them ſo, *England* was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom for neer theſe theuſand years, therefore let me know by what authority I am called hither: I do ſtand more for the *Liberty* of my People than any here, that come to be my pretended Judges: and therefore let me knew by what *lawfull Authority* I am ſeated here, and I will anſwer it, otherwiſe I will not anſwer it.

Lord Preſident. Sir, how really you have managed your Truſt, is known: your way of anſwer is to interregate the *Court*, which beſeems not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

The King. Here is a Gentleman, Lievt. Col. *Cobbet*, (ask him) if he did not bring me from the *Iſle of Wight* by force? I do not come here as ſubmitting to the *Court*; I will ſtand as much for the priviledge of the houſe of Commons, rightly underſtood

ſtood, as any man here whatſoever. *I* ſee no Houſe of Lords here that may conſtitute a Parliament, and (the King too) ſhould have been. *Is* this the bringing of the King to his Parliament? *Is* this the bringing an end to the *Treaty* in the publike Faith of the world? Let me ſee a legall Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or watranted by the the Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, and *I* will anſwer.

Lord Preſident. Sir, You have propounded a Queſtion, and have been anſwered: ſeeing you will not anſwer, the Court will conſider how to proceed; in the mean time, thoſe that brought you hither, are to take charge of you back again.

The Court deſires to know whether this be all the Anſwer you will give, or no.

The King. Sir, *I* deſire that you would give me, and all the world, ſatisfaction in this; let me tell you, it is not a ſlight thing you are about. *I* am ſworn to keep the Peace by that duty *I* owe to God and my Country, and *I* will do it to the laſt breath of my body, and therefore you ſhall do well to ſatisfie firſt God, and then the Country, by what Authority you do it, if you do it by a uſurped Authority, that will not laſt long. There is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you power, to account: Satisfie me in that, and *I* will anſwer, otherwiſe I betray my Truſt, and the Liberties of the People, and therefore think of that, and then I ſhall be willing. For I do avow, That it is as great a ſin to withſtand lawfull Authority, as it is to ſubmit to a Tyrannicall, or any other wayes unlawfull Authority and therefore ſatisfie God, and me, and all the World in that, and you ſhall receive my Anwer: I am not afraid of the Bill.

Lord

Lord Preſident. The Court expects you ſhould give them a final Anſwer, their purpoſe is to adjourn till Munday next, if you do not ſatisfie your ſelf, though we do tell you our Authority; we are ſatisfied with our Authority, and it is upon *Gods Authority* and the Kingdoms, and that peace you ſpeak of will be kept in the doing of Iuſtice, and that's our preſent Work.

The King. Let me tell you, if you will ſhew me what lawfull Authority you have, *I* ſhall be ſatisfied: But that you have ſaid, ſatisfies no reaſonable man.

Lord Preſident. That's in your apprehenſion: we think it reaſonable that are your *Judges.*

The King. 'Tis not my apprehenſion, nor yours neither, that ought to decide it.

Lord preſident. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be diſpoſed of as they have commanded.

Two things were remarkable in this dayes proceedings.

1. It is to be obſerved, That as the charge was reading againſt the King, the ſilver head of his ſtaff fell off, the which he wondred at, and ſeeing none to take it up, he ſtoop'd for it himſelf.

2. That as the King was going away, he looked with a very auſtere countenance upon the Court, with ſtirring of his Hat replyed, Well Sir, (when the *Lord Preſident* commanded the Guard to take him away,) and at his going down, he ſaid, *I do not fear that,* (pointing with his Staff at the ſword.) The people in the Hall, as he went down the ſtairs cryed out, ſome, *God ſave the King*, and ſome for *Juſtice.*

O yes being called, the *Court* adjourned till Monday next, *January* 22. at 9 in the morning to the painted *Chamber*, and from thence to the ſame place again in *Weſtminſter* Hall.

At

At the high Court of Juſtice ſitting in Weſtminſter Hall, Monday, January 22. 1648.

OYes made: Silence commanded. The Court called, and anſwered to their names.

Silence commanded upon pain of impriſonment, and the Captain of the Guard to apprehend all ſuch as make diſturbance.

Upon the Kings coming in a ſhout was made.

Command given by the Court to the Captain of the Guard to fetch and take into his cuſtody thoſe who make any diſturbance.

Mr. Solicitor. May it pleaſe your Lordſhip my Lord Preſident,

I did at the laſt Court in the behalfe of the Commons of England, exhibit and give into this Court a Charge of high Treaſon, and other high Crimes, againſt the Priſoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuſe him in the name of the People of England, and the Charge was read unto him, and his Anſwer required. My Lord, he was not then pleaſed to give an Anſwer, but in ſtead of anſwering, did there diſpute the Authority of this high Court. My humble Motion to this high Court, in behalfe of the Kingdom of England, is, That the Priſoner may be directed to make a poſitive Anſwer, either by way of Confeſſion or Negation; which if he ſhall refuſe to do, That the matter of Charge may be taken *pro confeſſo*, and the Court may proceed according to juſtice.

Lord Preſident. Sir, You may remember at the laſt Court you were told the occaſion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge againſt you, containing a Charge of high Treaſon, and other

other high Crimes, againſt this Realm of England; you heard likewiſe, that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you ſhould give an Anſwer to that Charge, that thereupon ſuch proceedings might be had as ſhould be agreable to juſtice; you were then pleaſd to make ſome ſcruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your Queſtions, and were as often anſwered, That it was by authority of the *Commons of England aſſembled in Parliament*, that did think fit to call you to account for thoſe high and capital Miſdemeanours where-with you were then charged. Since that, the Court hath taken into Conſideration what you then ſaid, they are fully ſatisfi d with their own authority, and they hold it fit you ſhould ſtand ſatisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do give a poſitive and particular Anſwer to this Charge that is exhibited againſt you, they do expect you ſhould either confeſs or deny it; if you deny, it is offered in the behalf of the Kingdom to be made good againſt you; their authority they do avow to the whole world, that the whole Kingdom are to reſt ſatisfied in, and you are to reſt ſatisfied with it, and therefore you are looſe no more time, but to give a poſitive Anſwer thereunto.

The King. When I was here laſt, 'tis true, I made that Queſtion, and truly if it were only my own particular caſe, I would have ſatisfi d my ſelfe with the Proteſtation, I made the laſt time I was here againſt the legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be tryed by any Superiour Juriſdiction on Earth; but it is not my caſe alone, it is the Freedom and the Liberty of the people of England, and you do pretend what you will, I ſtand more for their

Li[illegible]ties

Liberties. For if power without Law may make Laws, may alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what Subject he is in England, that can be sure of his life, or any thing that he calls his own; therefore when that I came here, I did expect particular Reasons, to know by what Law, what authority you did proceed against me here, and therefore I am a little to seek what to say to you in this particular, because the Affirmative is to be proved, the Negative often is very hard to do: but since I cannot perswade you to do it, I shall tell you my Reasons as short as I can.

My Reasons why in Conscience, and the duty I owe to God first, and my people next, for the preservation of their Lives, Liberties and Estates; I conceive I cannot answer this, till I be satisfied of the legality of it.

All proceedings against any man whatsoever—

Lord President. Sir, I must interrupt you, which I would not do, but that what you do is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Justice, you are about to enter into Argument, and dispute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Prisoner, and are charged as an high Delinquent; if you take upon you to dispute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to submit unto it, you are to give in a punctual and direct Answer, whether you will Answer your charge or no, and what your Answer is.

The King. Sir, by your favour, I do not know the forms of Law, I do know Law and Reason, though I am no Lawyer profess'd, but I know as much Law as any Gentleman in England; and therefore (under favour) I do plead for the Liberties of the People of England more then you do, and therefore if I should impose a belief upon any man without

Reasons

Reaſons given for it, it were unreaſonable; but I muſt tell you, That that Reaſon that I have as thus formed, I cannot yeild unto it.

Lord Preſident Sir, I muſt interrupt you, you may not be permitted, you ſpeak of Law and Reaſon, it is fit there ſhould be Law and Reaſon and there is both againſt you Sir the Vote of the Commons of England aſſembled in Parliament, it is the reaſon of the Kingdom, and they are theſe too that have given that law, according to which you ſhould have ruled and raigned: Sir, you are not to diſpute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court, Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you ſtand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

The King I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent; not by any Law that ever I heard of, all men (Delinquents, or what you will) let me tel you, they may put in Demurrers againſt any proceeding as legal, and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reaſons, if you deny that, you deny Reaſon.

Lord Preſident. Sir, you have offered ſomthing to the Court, I ſhall ſpeak ſomthing unto you the ſence of the Court, Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to diſpute that point, you are concluded, you may not demur the Juriſdiction of the Court, if you do, I muſt let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer, they ſit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predeceſſors, and you are reſponſible to them.

King I deny that, ſhew me one preſident

Lord Preſident. Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the Court is ſpeaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it, if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Juriſdiction of the Court, they

have considered of their Iurisdiction, they do affirm their own Iurisdiction.

The King. I say Sir, by your favour, that the Commons of England was never a Court of Iudicature, I would know how they came to be so.

Lord President. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that speech, and these discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read, as followeth,

Charles Stuart *King of England You have been accused on the behalfe of the People of England of high Treason; and other high Crimes; the Court have determined that you ought to answer the same.*

The King. I will answer the same so soon as I know by what Authority you do this.

Lord President. If this be all that you will say, then, Gentelmen, you that brought the Prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

The King. I do require that I may give in my Reasons why I do not answer, and give me time for that.

Lord President. Sir, 'Tis not for Prisoners to require.

The King. Prisoners? Sir, I am not an ordinary Prisoner.

Lord President. The Court hath considered of their Jurisdiction, and they have already affirmed their Jurisdiction; if you will not answer, we shall give order to record your default.

The King. You never heard my Reasons yet.

Lord President. Sir, Your Reasons are not to be heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

The King. Shew me that Jurisdiction where reason is not to be heard.

Lord President. Sir, We shew it you here, the Commons of England; and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasure

of

of the Court, and, it may be, their finall determination.

The King. Shew me where ever the Houſe of Commons was a court of Judicature of that kind.

Lord Preſident. Serjeant, Take away the Priſoner.

The King. Well Sir, Remember that the King is not ſuffered to give in his Reaſons for the Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects.

Lord Preſident. ſir, You are not to have liberty to uſe this language; how great a friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the people, let all *England* and the World judge.

The King. ſir, under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that ever *I* took —— defended my ſelfe with Armes, I never took up Arms againſt the People, but for the Laws.

Lord Preſident. The command of the court muſt be obeyed; no anſwer will be given to the charge

The King. Well Sir.

Then the Lord Preſident ordered the default to be recorded, and the contempt of the court, and that no anſwer would be given to the charge.

And ſo was guarded forth to Sir *Robert Cotton* houſe.

Then the court adjourned to the painted chamber on Tueſday at twelve a clock, and from thence they intend to adjourn to *Weſtminſter* Hall, at which time all perſons concerned are to give their attendance.

At the High Court of Juſtice ſitting in Weſtminſter Hall, *Tueſday*, Jan. 23. 1648.

OYes made. Silence commanded The Court called. Seventy three perſons preſent.

The King comes In with his Guard, looks with an auſtere countenance upon the Court, and ſits down.

The ſecond O Yes made, and ſilence commanded.

Mr. *Cook* Solicitor General. May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, my Lord Preſident,

This is now the third time, that by the great grace and favour of this high Court the priſoner hath been brought to the Bar before any iſſue joyned in the cauſe. My Lord, I did at the firſt Court exhibite a charge againſt him, containing the higheſt Treaſon that ever was wrought upon the *Theatre* of *England*: That a King of *England*, truſted to keep the Law, That had taken an Oath ſo to do, That had Tribute paid him for that end, ſhould be guilty of a wicked deſign, ſubvert and deſtroy our Laws, and introduce an *Arbitrary, and Tyrannical Government*, in the defence of the *Parliament and their Authority*, ſet up his *Standard* for War againſt his Parliament and People, and *I* did humbly pray, in the behalf of the *people of England*; that he might ſpeedily be required to make an Anſwer to the Charge.

But my Lord, in ſtead of making any anſwer, he did then diſpute the authority of this High court your Lordſhip was pleaſed to give him a further day to conſider and to put in his anſwer, which day being yeſterday, I did humbly move, that he might be required to give a direct and poſitive anſwer, either by denying, or confeſſion of it; but (my Lord) he was then pleaſed for to demur to

the

the juriſdiction of the Court, which the Court did then over-rule and command him to give a direct and poſitive anſwer. My Lord, Beſides this great delay of juſtice, *I* ſhall now humbly move your Lordſhip for ſpeedy judgment againſt him. My Lord, *I* might preſs your Lordſhip upon the whole, That according to the known Rules of the Law of the Land, That if a priſoner ſhall ſtand as contumacious in contempt, and ſhall not put in an iſſuable plea, guilty or not guilty of the Charge given againſt him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryall; That as by an implicite confeſſion, it may be taken *pro confeſſo*, as it hath been done to thoſe who have deſerved more favor than the priſoner at the Bar has done: but beſides, my Lord, *I* ſhall humbly preſſe your Lordſhip upon the whole Fact; The Houſe of Commons, the ſupreame authority and juriſdiction of the Kingdome, they have declared, That it is notorious, That the matter of the Charge is true, as it is in truth (my Lord) as clear as chryſtall, and as the Sun that ſhines at noon day, which if your Lordſhip and the court be not ſatisfied in, *I* have notwithſtanding, on the people of *Englands* behalf, ſeverall witneſſes to produce: And therefore, I do humbly pray, and yet *I* muſt confeſs it is not ſo much *I*, as the innocent blood that ha h been ſhed, the cry whereof is very great for juſtice and judgment and therefore *I* do humbly pray, That ſpeedy *Judgment* be pronounced againſt the priſoner at the Bar.

Lord Preſident. Sir, You have hea d what is moved by the Councel on the behalf of the Kingdom againſt you ſir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the court cannot forget what delatory dealings the court hath found at your hands, you were pleaſed to propound ſome Queſtions, you have had your Reſolution upon them. You were

told over and over again, That the court did affirme their own jurisdiction: That it was not for you nor any other man, to dispute the *Jurisdiction of the Supream and highest Authority of England*, from which there is no appeal, and touching which there must be no dispute; yet you did persist in such carriage, as you gave no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the *high Court, that constituted this Court of Justice*.

Sir, *I* must let you know from the court, That they are very sensible of these delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus Authorized by the supream *Court of England*, to be thus trifled with all, and that they might in justice, if they pleased, and according to the Rules of justice, take advantage of these delays, and proceed to pronounce judgment against you; yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalfs, I do require you, That you make a positive Answer unto this charge that is against you, sir, in plain terms, for Justice knowes no respect of persons; you are to give your positive and finall Answer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these Treasons laid to your Charge.

The King after a little pause, said.

When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the *Liberties of the People of England*; *I* was interrupted: I desire to know yet whether I may may speak freely or not.

Lord President. Sir, You have had the Resolution of the court upon the like Question the last day, and you were told, That having such a charge of so high a Nature against you, and your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, *And to Answer to your* charge. Sir, if you Answer to your Charge, which the court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken the advantage

tage of your contempt, yet if you be able to answer to your charge, when you have once Answered you shall be heard at large, make the best Defence you can. But Sir, I must let you know from the court, as their commands, that you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other discourses, till such time as you have given a positive Answer concerning the *Matter* that is *Charged* upon you.

The King For the *Charge*, I value it not a Rush, it is the *Liberty* of the People of England that I stand for; for me to acknowledg a *new Court* that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an example to all the people of England for to uphold Justice, to maintain the old Laws; indeed I do not know how to do it; you spoke very well the first day that I came here, (on Saturday) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of *the Liberties of my People*: The same Obligation you speak of, I do acknowledg to God that I owe to him, and to my People, to defend as much as in me lies, the ancient Lawes of the Kingdom, therefore until that I may know that this is not against the *Fundamental Lawes* of the Kingdom, by your favour I can put in no particular * Charge: If you will give me time, I will then shew you my reasons why *but I supposed* I cannot do it, and this —— *be means any.*

* *This is as the King express'd,*

Here being interrupted, he said,

By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me how I came here I know not, there's no Law for it to make your King your Prisoner: I was in a Treaty upon the pnblique Faith of the Kingdom, that was the known ——— two Houses at Parliament that was the Representative of the Kingdom, and when that I had almost made an end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away and brought hither, and therefore ———

Here the Lord *President* said; Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court.

The King. By your favour Sir:

Lord President. Nay Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into those discourses; you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you, but once more they command you to give your positive Answer——— ——*Clerk*. Do your Duty.

The King. Duty Sir!

The Clark reads.

Charles Stuart King *of* England, *You are accused in the behalf of the commons of* England *of divers high crimes and Treasons, which charge hath been read unto You; the court now requires you to give Your positive and final Answer by way of confession, or denial of the charge.*

The King. Sir, I say again to you, so that I might give satisfaction to the People of *England* of the clearness of my proceeding, not by way of Answer, not in this way, but to satisfie them that I have done nothing against that Trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to acknowledg a new Court against their Priviledges, to alter the fundamental Lawes of the Kingdom, Sir you must excuse me.

Lord President. Sir, this is the third time that you have publiquely disown'd this Court, and put an affront upon it; how far you have preserv'd Priviledges of the People, your Actions have spoke it; but truly Sir, mens intentions ought to be known by their actions, you have written your meaning in bloudy Characters throughout the whole Kingdome; but Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court, ——— ——— ——— ——— Clerk Record the default, ——— ——— ——— ——— and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Prisoner, take him back again.

The

The King. I will only ſay this one word more to you, if it were only My owne particular, I would not ſay any more, nor interrupt you.

Lord Preſ. Sir, you have heard the pleaſure of the Court, and you are (notwithſtanding you will not underſtand it) to find that you are before a Court of Juſtice.

Then the King went forth with his Guard, and Proclamation was made, That all perſons who had then appear'd, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the Painted Chamber, to which place the Court did forthwith adjorn, and intended to meet in *Weſtminſter Hall* by ten of the clock the next morning.

Cryer. God bleſs the Kingdom of *England.*

Wedneſday, January 24. 1648.

THis day it was expected the *High Court of Juſtice* would have met in *Weſtminſter* Hall about ten of the clock; but at the time appointed, one of the Uſhers by direction of the *Court* (then ſitting in the *Painted Chamber*) gave notice to the people there aſſembled, That in regard the Court was then upon the examination of Witneſſes in relation to preſent affairs, in the *Painted Chamber*, they could not ſit there; but all perſons appointed to be there, were to appear upon further Summons.

The Proceedings of the High Court of Juſtice ſitting in Weſtminſter Hall, *on Saturday the* 27. *of* January, 1648.

OYes made; Silence commanded. The *Court* called, Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, *Lord Preſident* (in a Scarlet robe) with 68. other Members of the Court.

As the King comes in, a cry made in the Hall for *Execution, juſtice, Execution.*

King.

King. I ſhall deſire a word to be heard a little, and hope I ſhall give no occaſion of interruption.

Lord Preſident. You may anſwer in your time, but the Court firſt.

King. If it pleaſe you, Sir, I deſire to be heard, and I ſhall not give any occaſion of interruption, and it is only in a word, a ſudden Judgment. ———

Lord Preſid. Sir, you ſhall be heard in due time, but you are to heare the Court firſt.

King. Sir, I deſire it, it will be in order to what I believe the Court will ſay; and therefore Sir, a haſty Judgment is not ſo ſoon recall'd.

Lord Preſ. Sir, you ſhall be heard before the Judgment be given, and in the mean time you may forbear.

King. Well Sir, ſhall I be heard before the Judgment be given?

Lord Preſ. Gentlemen, it is well known to all, but moſt of you here preſent, That the Priſoner at the Bar hath ben ſeverall times convented and brought before the Court to make Anſwer to a Charge of Treaſon and other high crimes exhibited againſt him in the

* *Here a Malignant Lady interrupted the court, (ſaying not halfe the people) but ſhee was ſomewhat ſilenced.*

* name of the People of *England*; to which Charge being required to Anſwer, he hath been ſo farr from obeying the commands of the Court by ſubmitting to their Juſtice, as he began to take upon him to offer reaſons and debate unto the authority of the Court and of the higheſt Court that conſtituted them to try and judg him; but being overruled in that, & required to make his anſwer he was ſtill pleaſed to continue contumacious, and to refuſe to ſubmit or anſwer: Here upon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themſelves, to the truſt repoſed in them, nor that any mans wilfulneſſe prevent juſtice they have thought fit to take the matter into their conſideration; They have conſidered of the contumacy

and of that confeſſion, which in Law doth ariſe upon that contumacy; They have likewiſe conſidered of the notoriety of the Fact charg'd upon this Priſoner, and upon the whole matter they are reſolved, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be now pronounced againſt this Priſoner: but in reſpect he doth deſire to be heard before the Sentence be read, and pronounced, the Court hath reſolved that they will hear him; yet Sir, thus much I muſt tell you before-hand, which you have been minded of at other Courts; That if that you have to ſay be to offer any debate concerning juriſdiction, you are not to be heard in it, you have offered it formerly, and you have indeed ſtruck at the root, that is the power and *Supream Authority of the Commons of England*, which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrationall thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them, that they ſhould preſume to judge upon their Superiority, from whom there's no Appeal. But Sir, if you have any thing to ſay in defence of your ſelfe concerning the matters charged, the Court hath given me command to let you know they will heare you.

The King. Since that I ſee that you will not hear any thing of debate concerding that which I confeſſe I thought moſt materiall for the peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I ſhall wave it, I ſhall ſpeak nothing to it; bnt onely I muſt tell you, That this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that that I call more deare to mee then my Life, which is, *My Conſcience and my Honour*; and if I had reſpect to my life more then the Peace of the Kingdom, the *Liberty of the Subject*, certainly I ſhould have made a particular defence to my ſelfe, for by that at leaſt-wiſe I might have delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will paſſe upon me; Therefore certainly ſir, as a man that hath ſome underſtanding,

ſome

ſome knowledg of the world, if that my true zeale
my Countrey had not over-born the care that I ha
of my owne preſervation, I ſhould have gone anot
way to worke then that I have done: Now Sir, I co
ceive, that an haſty *Sentence* once paſt may be ſoo
repented then recalled: and truly, the ſelf ſame de
that I have for *the peace of the Kingdome, and the Lib*
of the Subject, more *then my owne particular*, does m
me now at laſt deſire. That having ſomething for
ſay that concerns both, I deſire before *ſentence* be
ven, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber
fore the Lords & Commons, this delay cannot be
judicial to you whatſoever I ſay, if that *I* ſay no rea
thoſe that heare me muſt be Judges, I cannot be Ju
of that that I have, if it be reaſon, and really for
welfare of the Kingdom and the liberty of the Subject, I
ſure on't very well 'tis worth the hearing; Therefo
I do conjure you, as you love that you pretend, I ho
it's reall, *the Liberty of the Subject*, *the peace of the Kin*
dome; that you will grant Mee the hearing before a
Sentence be paſs'd, I only deſire this, that you wil ta
this into your conſideration, it may be you have n
heard of it before-hand, if you will, I'le retire, a
you may think of it; but if I cannot get this *Liberty*,
do here proteſt, that ſo faire ſhews of *Liberty and Pe*
are pure ſhews, and not otherwiſe, then that you wi
not heare your KING.

Lord Preſ. Sir, You have now ſpoken?

King. Yes Sir.

Lord Preſ. And this that you have ſaid is a further
declining of the *juriſdiction of this court*, which was th
thing wherein you were limited before.

King. Pray excuſe me Sir, for my interruption, be
cauſe you miſtake me, it is not a declining of it, yo
do judg me before you hear me ſpeak, I ſay it will not
I do not decline it, though I cannot acknowledge th
Juriſdiction of the Court; Yet Sir, in this give Me
leav

leave to ſay, I would do it, though I did not acknowledg it in this, I do proteſt it is not the declining of ſince I ſay, if that I do ſay any thing but that that is for the Peace of *the Kingdom*, and *the Libertie of the Subject*, then the ſhame is mine. Now I deſire, that you will take this into your conſideration, if you will pleaſe withdraw.

Lord Preſident. Sir, This is not altogether new that you have moved unto us, not altogether new to us, though the firſt time in perſon you have offered it to the Court: Sir, you ſay you do not Decline the juriſdiction of the *Court*.

King. Not in this that I have ſaid.

Lord preſident. I underſtand you well Sir, but nevertheleſſe that which you have offered, ſeems to be contrary to that ſaying of yours; for the *Court* are ready to give a Sentence: it is not as you ſay, *That they will not hear your King*, for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your pleaſure for three *Courts* together, to hear what you would ſay to the peoples charge againſt you, to which you have not vouchſafed to give any anſwer at all; Sir, This tends to a further delay: Truly ſir, ſuch delaies as theſe neither may the Kingdom, nor juſtice well bear; You have had three ſeverall daies to have offered in this kind what you would have pleaſed; This Court is founded upon that *Authority of the Commons of England, in whom reſts the Supream Juriſdiction*; That which you now tender is to have another juriſdiction, and a *coordinate Juriſdiction*, I know very well you expreſſe your ſelfe. Sir, That notwithſtanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, yet nevertheleſs you would proceed on here, I did hear you ſay ſo; but Sir, that you would offer there, what ever it is muſt needs be in delay, of the Iuſtice here, ſo as if this Court be reſolved, and

prepared

prepared for the ſentence, this that you offer they a
not bound in juſtice to grant; but ſir, according
that you ſeem to deſire, and becauſe you ſhall kn
the further pleaſure of the court upon that which y
have moved, the court will withdraw for a time.

King. Shall I withdraw?

Lord Preſident. Sir, You ſhall know the pleaſure
the *Court* preſently, the *Court* withdraws for halfo
hour into the *Court of wards.*

Sergeant at Arms, the *Court* gives command th
the priſoner be withdrawn, and they give order f
his return again.

The Court withdraws for half an hour and return

Lord Preſident. Serjeant at Arms, ſend for your p
ſoner.

Sir, you were pleaſed to make a motion here to t
Court to offer a deſire of yours touching the propo
ding of ſomewhat to the Lords in the painted Cha
ber for the Peace of the Kingdom ſir, you did in eff
receive an anſwer before the Court adjourned; Tr
ly ſir, their withdrawing and adjournment was *proſo*
ma tantum, for it did not ſeem to them that there w
any difficulty in the thing; they have conſidered
what you have moved, and have conſidered of th
own *Authority*, which is founded, as hath been oft
ſaid, upon the *Supream authority of the Commons of En*
land aſſembled in Parliament. The court acts accordin
ly to their commiſſion. ſir, the return I have to you fro
the court, is this; That they have been too much d
layed by you already, and this that you now offer ha
occaſioned ſome little further delay, and they a
JUDGES appointed by the higheſt *JUDGES*, an
Judges are no more to delay then they are to den
juſtice, they are good words in the old *Charter of En*
land: Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferem
Juſtitiam. There muſt be no delay, but the truthi
ſir, and ſo every man here obſerves it, That you hav
mud

much delayed them in your contempt and default, for which they might long ſince have proceeded to judgement againſt you, and notwithſtanding what you have offered, they are reſolved to proceed to puniſhment, and to judgment, and that is their unanimous reſolution.

King. Sir, *I* know it is in vain for me to diſpute, I am no *Sceptick* for to deny the power that you have, *I* know that you have power enough; ſir, *I* confeſſe, *I* think it would have been for the Kingdoms peace, if you would have taken the paines for to have ſhown the lawfulneſs of your power, for this delay that *I* have deſired, *I* confeſs it is a delay, but it is a delay very important for the peace of the Kingdom, for it is not my perſon that *I* look on alone, it is the Kingdoms wel-fare, and the Kingdoms peace, it is an old ſentence, *That we ſhould think on long before we have reſolved of great matters ſuddenly*; Therefore ſir, *I* do ſay again, That *I* do put at your doors all the inconveniency of an haſty *Sentence*, I confeſſe, I have been here now I think this week, this day eight days was the day I came here firſt, but a little delay of a day or two further may give Peace, whereas an *Haſty Judgment* may bring on that trouble and perpetual inconveniency to the Kingdome, That the child that is unborn may repent it; and therefore again, out of the Duty I owe to God, and to my Country, I do deſire that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, or any other Chamber that you will appoint me.

Lord Preſ. Sir you have been already anſwered to what you even now moved, being the ſame you moved before, ſince the Reſolution and the Judgment of the Court in it, and the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to ſay for your ſelf, then you have ſaid, before they proceed to Sentence.

King. I ſay this Sir, That if you will hear me, if

you

you will give me but this delay, I doubt not but ſhall give ſome ſatisfaction to you all here, and to my People after that, and therefore I do require you, as you will anſwer it at the dreadfull day of Judgment, that you will conſider it once again.

Lord Preſident. Sir, I have received direction from the *Court*.

King. Well Sir.

Lord Preſident. If this muſt be re-enforc'd, or any thing of this nature, your anſwer muſt be the ſame, and they will proceed to *Sentence* if you have nothing more to ſay.

King, I have nothing more to ſay, but I ſhall deſire that this may be entred what I have ſaid.

Lord Preſident. the Court then, Sir hath ſomthing to ſay unto you, which although I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithſtanding they are willing, and are reſolv'd to diſcharge their Duty,,

Sir, you ſpeak very well of a precious thing that you call Peace, and it had been much to be wiſhed that God had put it into your heart, that you had as effectually and really endeavored and ſtudied the Peace of the Kingdom, as now in words you ſeem to pretend; but as you were told the other day, *Actions muſt expound Intentions*, yet Actions have been clean contrary and truly Sir, it doth appear plainly enough to them, That you have gone upon very erronious principles, the Kingdom hath felt it to their ſmart, and it will be no eaſe to you to think of it, for Sir, you have held your ſelfe, and let fall ſuch Language, as if you had been no ways Subject to the Law, or that the Law had not been your Superiour. Sir, the Court is very well ſenſible of it, and I hope ſo are all the underſtanding People of England *That the Law is your Superiour* That you ought to have ruled according to the Law, you ought to have done ſo Sir, I know very well your pretence hath been that you have done ſo, but Sir, the difference

difference hath been who ſhall be the *Expoſitors of this Law*; ſir, whether you and your party out of Courts of Juſtice ſhall take upon them to expound Law, or the *Courts of Juſtice*, who are the Expounders; nay, the Soveraign and the High Court of Juſtice, the *Parliament* of *England*, who are not only *the higheſt Expounders*, but *the ſole makers of the Law*. Sir, for you to ſet your ſelf with your ſingle judgment, and thoſe that adhere unto you againſt *the higheſt Court of Juſtice, that is not Law* ſir, as the Law is your ſuperior, ſo truly ſir, there is ſomething that is ſuperior to the Law, and that is indeed the *Parent or maker* of the Law, and that is *the people of England*. For ſir, as they are thoſe that at the firſt, (as other Countries have done) did chooſe to themſelves this *Form of Government*, even for juſtice ſake, that juſtice might be adminiſtred, that peace might be preſerved; ſo ſir, they gave Laws to their Governors, according to which they ſhould govern; and if thoſe Laws ſhould have proved inconvenient, or prejudicial to the publique, they had a power in them, and reſerved to themſelves to alter as they ſhall ſee cauſe. Sir, it is very true, what ſome of your ſide have ſaid, *Rex non habet parem in Regno*; This Court will ſay the ſame, while King, *That you have not your Peers* in ſome ſenſe, for you are *Major ſingulis*, but they will aver again, that you are *Minor univerſis*; and the ſame Author tels you that *in exhibitione juris*, there you have no power, but in *quaſi minimus*,

This we know to be Law, *Rex habet ſuperiorem, Deum & Legem, etiam & curiam*, and ſo ſaies the ſame Author; and truly, ſir, he makes bold to go a little further, *Debent ei ponere frænum*, *They ought to bridle him*, and ſir, we know very well the ſtories of old, Thoſe Wars that were called the *Barons Wars*, when the Nobility

bility of the Land did ſtand out *for the liberty and property of the Subject*, and would not ſuffer the Kings that did invade to play the Tyrants freer, but called them to account for it, we know that truth, That they did *Frenum ponere*, But Sir, if they do ſo bear to do their duty now, and are not ſo mindfull of their own Honor and the Kingdoms good, as the *Barons* of *England* will not be unmindfull of what is for their preſervation, and for their ſafety, *Juſtitiæ fruendi cauſa Reges conſtituti ſunt.* This we learn, the end of having Kings, or any other Governors, it's for the enjoying of Juſtice, that's the end. Now Sir, if ſo be the King will go contrary to the end of his Government; Sir, he muſt underſtand that he is but an Officer of truſt, and he ought to diſcharge that Truſt, and they are to take order for the animadverſion and punithment of ſuch an offending Governor.

This is not Law of yeſterday Sir, (ſince the time of the diviſion betwixt you and your People,) but it is Law of old; And we know very well the *Authors* and the *Authorities* that do tell us what the Law was in that point upon the Election of Kings, upon the *Oath* that they took unto their People; and if they did not obſerve it, there were thoſe things called Parliaments; The *Parliaments* were they that were to adjudge (the very words of the *Author*) *the plaints and wrongs done of the King and the Queen, or their Children, ſuch wrong eſpecially when the People could have no where elſe any remedy.* Sir, that hath been the People of *Englands* caſe, they could not have their remedy elſe where but in *Parliament.*

Sir, *Parliaments* were ordained for that purpoſe to redreſs the grievances of the People, that was their main end; and truly Sir, if ſo be that the Kings of England had been rightly mindfull of themſelves they were never more in *Majeſty and State* then in the *Parliament:* but how forgetful ſome have been, *Storie* hav

have told us; We have a miſerable, a lamentable, a ſad experience of it, Sir, by the old Lawes of England, I ſpeak theſe things the rather to you, becauſe you were pleaſed to let fall the other day, you though you had as much knowledge in the Law, as moſt Gentlemen in Engl. it is very well Sir. And truly Sir, it is very good for the Gentlm n of England to underſtand that Law under which they muſt live, and by which they muſt be governed. And then Sir, the Scripture ſays, *They that know their Maſters will and do it not*, what followes The Law is your Maſter, the Acts of *Parliament*.

The *Parliaments* were to be kept anciently we find in our *author* twice in the year, *That the ſubject upon any occaſion might have a ready remed, and redreſs for his Grievance*. Afterwards by ſeveral Acts of *Parliament* in the days of your Predeceſſor *Edward the third*, they muſt have been once a year. Sir what interm ſſion of PARLIAMENTS hath been in your time it is very well known, and the ſad conſequences of it, and what in the interim inſtead of theſe Parliaments, hath been by you by an high and *Arbitary* hand introduced upon the People, that likewiſe hath been too well known and felt. But when God by his Providence had ſo brought it about, that you could no longer decline the calling of a Parliament Sir, yet it will appear what your ends were againſt the Ancient and your *Native* Kingdom of *Scotland*: The *Parliament* of *England* not ſerving your ends againſt them, you were pleaſed to diſolve it Another great neceſſity occaſioned the calling of this Parliament, and what your Deſigns and plots and indeavours all along have been for the ruining and confounding of this Parliament, hath been very notorious to the whole Kingdom; And truly Sir, in that you did ſtrike at all; that had been a ſure way to have brought about that that this laies upon you, *Your Intention to Subvert the Fundamental Lawes of the Land*. For the great bulwark of *Liberties*

of the people, is the PARLIAMENT of *England*; and to Subvert and Root up that, which your aim hath been to do, certainly at one blow you had confounded the liberties and the property of *England*.

Truly Sir, it makes me call to minde, I cannot forbear to expreſs it, for Sir, we muſt deal plainly with you, according to the merits of your cauſe, ſo is our Commiſſion, it makes me call to mind (theſe proceedings of yours) that we read of a great *Roman Emperor*, by the way let us call him *a great Roman Tyrant*, *Caligula*, *that wiſht that the people of* Rome *had had but one neck, that at on blow he might cut it off*: and your proceedings hath been ſome what like to this; for the body of the people of England hath been (and where elſe) repreſented but in the Parliament, and could you have but confounded that, you had at one blow cut off the neck of *England*. but God hath reſerved better things for us, and hath pleaſed for to Confound your deſigns, and to break your Forces, and to bring your Perſon into Cuſtody that you might be reſponſible to Juſtice.

Sir, we know very well, That it is a queſtion on your ſide very much preſt, *by what Preſident we ſhall proceed*? Truly Sir, for *Preſidents*, I ſhall not upon theſe occaſions inſtitute any long diſcourſe, but it is no new thing to cite *Preſidents* almoſt of all *Nations*, where the people (when power hath been in their hands) have been made bold to call their Kings to account, and where the change of *Government* hath upon occaſion of the *Tyranny and Miſ-Government* of thoſe that have been placed over them; I will not ſpend time to mention *France*, or *Spain*, or the Empire, or other Countries, volumes may be written of them; But truly Sir, that of the Kingdom of Arragon, I ſhall think ſome of us have thought upon it, when they have the Juſtice of Arragon, that is a man *tanquam in medio poſitus*, betwixt the King of Spain, and the people

people of the Countrey, that if wrong be done by the King, he that is the King of *Arragon*, the Juſtice hath power to reform the wrong, and he is acknowledged to be the Kings Superiour, and is the grand preſerver of their priviledges, and hath proſecuted Kings upon their miſcarriages.

Sir; What the Tribunes of *Rome* were heretofore, and what the *Ephori* were to the *Lacedæmonian State*, we know that is the Parliament of *England* to the *Engliſh State*; & though *Rome* ſeem to have loſt its *liberty* when once the Emperours were, yet you ſhall find ſome famous Acts of Juſtice even done by the Senate of *Rome*, that great *Tyrant* of his time, *Nero*, condemned and judged by the *Senate*. But truly Sir, to you I ſhould not mention theſe Forreign examples and ſtories. If you look but over *Tweed*, we find enough in your native Kingdom of *Scotland*. If we look to your firſt King *Fergusius*, that your ſtories make mention of, he was an elective King, he dyed, and left two Sonnes both in their minority, the Kingdome made choyſe of their Unkle his Brother to govern in the *minority*; afterwards the elder Brother giving ſmall hopes to the People that he would rule or govern well, ſeeking to ſupplant that good Unkle of his that governed then juſtly, they ſet the elder aſide, and took to the younger. Sir, if I ſhould come to what your ſtories make mention of, you know very well you are the 109. King of *Scotland*; for to mention ſo many Kings as that Kingdom according to their power and priviledge, have made bold to deale withall, ſome to baniſh, and ſome to impriſon, and ſome to put death, it would be too long; and as one of your Authors ſays, it would be too long to recite the manifold examples that your own ſtories make mention of; *Reges* (ſay they) we do create, we created Kings at firſt, *Leges*, &c. We impoſed Laws upon them; and as they are choſen by the ſuffrages of the people at the firſt, ſo upon juſt occaſi-

on,

on, by the ſame ſuffrages, they may be taken down again: and we will be bold to ſay, that no Kingdome hath yeelded more plentiful experience then that your Native Kingdom of *Scotland* hath done concerning the depoſition, and the puniſhment of their offending and tranſgreſſing Kings, &c.

It is not farre to go for an example neer you, your Grandmother ſet aſide, and your Father an Infant crowned; and the State did for him in *England*, here hath not been a want of ſome examples, they have made bold (the Parliament, & the people of *England*) to call their Kings to account, there are frequent examples of it in the *Saxons* time, one time before the Conqueſt; ſince the Conqueſt there wants not ſome Preſidents neither, King *Edward* the 2 King *Richard* the ſecond, were dealt with ſo by the Parliament, as they were depoſed and deprived: and truly Sir, who ever ſhall look into their ſtories, they ſhall not finde the Articles that are charged upon them to come neer to that height and capitalneſs of Crimes that are layd to your charge, nothing neer.

Sir, You were pleaſed to ſay the other day, wherein they diſcent, and I did not contradict it, but take altogether, Sir, if you were as the Charge ſpeaks, and no otherwiſe admitted King of *England*, but for that you were pleaſed then to alledg, how that almoſt for a thouſand years theſe things have been, ſtories will tell you, if you goe no higher then the time of the Conqueſt; if you do come down ſince the Conqueſt, you are the 24th. King from *William* called the Conqueror, you ſhall find one half of them to come meerly from the State, and not meerly upon the point of Deſcent; it were eaſie to be inſtanced to you, the time muſt not be loſt that way. And truly Sir, whats grave and learned Judge in his time, and well known to you, and is ſince printed for poſterity, *That although*

though there was such a thing as a Descent many times, yet the Kings of England *ever held the greatest assurance of their Titles when it was declared by Parliament:* And Sir, your *Oath*, the manner of your *Coronation* doth shew plainly, That the Kings of *England*, although its true by the Law, the next person in bloud is designed; yet if there were just cause to refuse him, the people of *England* might do it. For there is a *Contract* and Bargain made between the King and his People, and your *Oath* is taken, and certainly Sir, the Bond is reciprocall, for as you are the liege Lord, so they liege Subjects, and we know very well that hath been so much spoken of, *Ligantis est duplex.* This wee know now, the one tye, the one Bond, is the bond of perfection which is due from the Soveraign, the other is the bond of Subjection that is due from the Subject. Sir, if this Bond be once broken, farewell Soveraignty, *Subjectio trahit*, &c.

These things may not be denyed Sir, I speak it the rather, and I pray God it may worke upon your heart, that you may be sensible of your miscarriages. For whether you have been, as by your Office you ought to be, *a Protector of* England, or *the destroyer of* England, let all *England* judge, or all the world that hath look'd upon it. Sir, though you have it by *Inheritance* in the way that is spoken of, yet it must not be denyed that your Office was an Office of Trust, and an Office of the highest Trust lodged in any single person; For as you were the grand *Administrator of Justice*, and others were as your *Delegates* to see it done throughout your Realms, if you great Office were to do Justice, and preserve your People from wrong, and instead of doing that you will be the *great wrong-doer your selfe*; If instead of being a *Conservator of the Peace*, you will be *the Grand disturber of the Peace*, surely this is contrary to your Office, contrary to your Trust. Now sir, if it be an Office of *Inheritance*, as you

ſpeak of your Title by *Diſcent*, let all men know, that great Offices are ſeizable and forfeitable, as if you had it but for a year, and for your life; Therefore ſir, it will concern you to take into your ſerious conſideration your miſcarriages in this kind.

Truly I ſhall not particularize the many miſcarriages of this Reign whatſoever, they are famouſly known, it had been happy for the Kingdom, and happy for you too, if it had not been ſo much known, and ſo much felt, as the ſtory of your miſcarriages muſt needs be, and hath been already.

Sir, That that we are now upon by the command of the *high ſt Court* hath been and is, to try & judge you for great offences of yours. Sir, the Charge hath called you *Tyrant, a Traytor, a Murtherer, and a publique Enemy to the Common-wealth of England.* Sir, it had been well, if that any of all theſe terms might rightly and juſtly have been ſpared, if any one of them at all.

King. Ha?

Lord Preſident. Truly Sir, we have been told, *Rex eſt dum erat legit, Tyrannus qui populum opprimit*; and if ſo be that be the definition of a *Tyrant*, then ſee how you come ſhort of it in your Actions, whether the higheſt *Tyrant* by that way of *Arbitrary Government*, and that you have fought for to introduce, and that you have fought to put, you were putting upon the People, whether that was not as high an Act of Tyranny as any of your Predeceſſors were guilty of, nay, many degrees beyond it.

Sir, the term *Traytor* cannot be ſpared, we ſhall eaſily agree it muſt denote & ſuppoſe a breach of Truſt, and it muſt ſuppoſe it to be done by a Superior, and therefore Sir, as the people of *England* might have incurred that reſpecting you, if they had been truly guilty of it, as to the definition of Law: ſo on the other ſide, when you did break your Truſt to the Kingdome, you did break your truſt to your Superior: For

the

the Kingdom is that for which you were truſted: And therefore Sir, for this breach of Truſt when you are called to account, you are called to account by your Superiors. *Minimus ad Majorem in judicium vocat.* And Sir, the *People of England* cannot be ſo far wanting to themſelves, which God having dealt ſo miraculouſly and glorioufly for, they having power in their hands and their great Enemy, they muſt proceed to do Juſtice to themſelves and to you; For, Sir, the Court could heartily deſire, that you would lay your hand upon your heart and conſider what you have done amiſs; That you would endeavor to make your peace with God: Truly ſir, Theſe are your high crimes, Tyranny and Treaſon:

There is a third thing too, if thoſe had not been, and that is Murther, which is layd to your charge. All the bloody Murthers that have been committed ſince this time that the diviſion was betwixt you & your People muſt be layd to your charge, that have been acted or committed in theſe late Wars. Sir, it is an heinous and crying ſin; and truly Sir, if any man will ask us what puniſhment is due to a Murtherer, Let Gods Law, let mans law ſpeak. Sir, I will preſume that you are ſo well read in Scripture as to know what God himſelf hath ſaid concerning *the ſhedding of mans blood Gen. 9. Numb. 35.* will tell you what the puniſhment is, and which this Court in behalfe of the Kingdome are ſenſible of, of that innocent blood that has been ſhed, whereby indeed the Land ſtands ſtill defiled with that blood, and as the Text hath it, *It can no way be cleanſed but with the ſhedding of the blood of him that ſhed this blood.* Sir, we know no Diſpenſation from this blood in that Commandement, *thou ſhalt do no murther*; we do not know but that it extends to Kings as well as to the meaneſt Peaſants, the meaneſt of the People, the command is univerſall. Sir, Gods Law forbids it, Mans Law forbids it, nor do we know that there

there is any manner of exception, not even in man
Laws, for the punishment of Murther in you. 'Ti
true, that in the case of Kings, every privat hand wa
not to put forth it selfe to this work for their Refor
mation and punishment. But Sir, the people repre
sented having power in their hands, had there bee
but one wilfull act of Murther by you committed, ha
power to have convented you, and to have punishe
you for it.

But then Sir, the weight that lies upon you in t
those respects that have been spoken, by reason of yo
Tyranny, Treason, breach of trust, and the Murthe
that have been committed, surely Sir, it must driv
you into a sad consideration concerning your eterna
condition: as I said at first, I know it cannot be ple
sing to you to hear any such things as these are me
tioned unto you from this Court, for so we do call o
selves, and justifie our selves to be a Court, and
High Court of Justice, authorized by the highest an
and solemnest Court of the Kingdom, as we have a
ten said; and although you do yet endeavor wh
you may to dis-court us, yet we do take knowledge
our selves to be such a Court as can administer J
stice to you, and we are bound, sir, in duty to do
Sir, all I shall say before the reading of your Se
rence, it is but this; The Court does heartily desi
that you will seriously think of those evils that yo
stand guilty of. Sir, you said well to us the other da
you wish us to have God before our eyes, Truly I
I hope all of us have so, that God that we know is
King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, that God wi
whom there is no respect of persons, that God that
the avenger of innocent blood, we have that God b
fore us, that God that does bestow a curse upo
them that with hold their hands from shedding
blood, which is the case of guilty Malefactors, an
that do deserve death; That God we have before u
ey

eyes, and were it not that the conſcience of our duty hath called us unto this place, and this imployment, Sir, you ſhould have had no appearance of a Court here: but Sir, we muſt prefer the diſcharge of our duty unto God, and unto the Kingdom, before any other reſpect whatſoever: and although at this time many of us, if not all of us, are ſeverely threatned by ſome of your party what, they intend to do, Sir, we do here declare, that we ſhall not decline or forbeare the doing of our duty in the adminiſtration of Juſtice even to you, according to the merit of your offence, although God ſhould permit thoſe men to effect all *that bloody deſigne* in hand againſt us. Sir, we will ſay, and we will declare it, as thoſe Children in the fiery furnace, that would not worſhip the golden Image that *Nebuchadnezzar* had ſet up, *That their God was able to deliver them from that danger that they were in unto*, but yet if he would not do it yet, notwithſtanding that, they would not fall down and worſhip the Image: we ſhall thus apply it, That though we ſhould not be delivered from thoſe bloody hands and hearts that conſpire the overthrow of the Kingdome in generall, of us in particular for acting in this great work of Juſtice, though we ſhould periſh in the work, yet by Gods grace, and by Gods ſtrength, we will go on with it: And this is all our Reſolutions. Sir, I ſay for you, ſelf, we do heartily wiſh, and deſire, that God would be pleaſed to give you a ſenſe of your ſins, that you would ſee wherein you have done amiſs, that you may cry unto him, that God would deliver you from *blood guiltineſſe*. A good King was once guilty of that particular thing, and was clear otherwiſe, ſaving in the matter of *Uriah*. Truly Sir, the ſtory tells us, that he was a repentant King, and it ſignifies enough that he had dyed for it, that God was willing to accept of him and to give him his pardon, *thou ſhalt not die, but the child ſhall die, thou haſt*

given

given cauſe to the enemies of God to blaſpheam.

King. I would deſire only one word before you gi ſentence, and that is, That you would hear me co cerning thoſe great imputations that you have layd my charge.

Lord Preſident. Sir, you muſt give me now lea to go on, for I am not far from your *Sentence*, and yo time is now paſt.

King. But I ſhall deſire you will heare mee a f words to you, for truly what ever *Sentence* you will p upon me, in reſpect of thoſe heavy *imputations* tha ſee by your ſpeech you have put upon me, Sir, it very true that——

Lord Preſident. Sir, I muſt put you in mind, Tru ſir, I would not not willingly at this time eſpec ally, interrupt you in any thing you have to ſay that proper for us to admit of; but ſir, you have not ow ed us as a Court, and you look upon us as a ſort of pe ple met together, and we know what Language we ceive from your partie.

King. I know nothing of that.

Lord Preſ. You diſ-avow us as a *Court*, and then fore for you to addreſs your ſelf to us, not to ackno ledg us as a Court to judg of what you ſay, it is not be permitted; and the *truth* is, all along from the fi time. you were pleaſed to diſ avow and diſ-owne the Court needed not to have heard you one word For unleſs they be acknowledged a Court, and eng ged, it is not proper for you to ſpeak: *Sir*, we ha given you too much liberty already, and admitted too much delay, and we may not admit of any further were it proper for us to do we ſhould hear you freely and we ſhould not have declined to have heard you large, what you could have ſaid or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excuſing, or for in part ex cuſing thoſe great and hainous charges that in whol ever in part are laid upon you. But ſir, I ſhall trouble you

you no longer, your ſins are of ſo large a dimenſion, that if you do but ſeriouſly think of them, they will drive you to a ſad *conſideration*, and they may improve in you a ſad and ſerious *repentance*. And that the *Court* doth heartily wiſh that you may be ſo *penitent* for what you have done amiſs, that God may have mercy at leaſt-wiſe upon your *better part*. Truly Sir, for the other, it is our parts and duties to do that, that the Law preſcribes, we are not here *Jus dare*, but *Jus dicere*; We cannot be unmindful of what the *Scripture* tels us, *For to acquit the guilty, is of equall abhomination as to condemn the innocent*, we may not acquit the *guilty*; what ſentence the Law affirms to a *Traytor*, *Tyrant*, a *Murtherer*, and a *publique Enemy* to the *Countrey*, that *ſentence* you are now to heare read unto you, and that is the *ſentence* of the *Court*.

The *Lord Preſident* commands the *Sentence* to be read. Make an *O Yes*, and command ſilence while the *ſentence* is read.

O yes made, ſilence commanded.

The Clerk read the *ſentence*, which was drawn up in parchment.

Whereas the Commons of England *in Parliament have appointed them an High Court of Juſtice for the trying of* Charles Stuart *King of* England, *before whom hee had been three times convented, and at the firſt time a Charge of High Treaſon, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors was read in the behalfe of the Kingdom of* England, *&c.*

Here the Clerk read the Charge.

Which Charge being read unto him as aforeſaid, he the ſaid *Charls Stuart* was required to give his Anſwer, but he refuſed ſo to do, and ſo expreſt the ſeverall paſſages at his Tryall in refuſing to anſwer.

For all which Treaſons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudg, That the ſaid Charls Stuart, *as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a publique Enemie, ſhall be put to Death, by the ſevering his Head from his Bodie.*

After

After the ſentence read, the Lord Preſident ſaid:

This ſentence now read and publiſhed, it is this A&, *Sentence, judgement*, and reſolution of the whole Court:

Here the Court ſtood up, and aſſenting to what the Preſident ſaid:

King. Will you hear me a word ſir?

Lord Preſident. Sir, you are not to be heard after the ſentence:

King. No ſir?

Lord Preſident: No ſir, by your favor ſir: Guard withdraw your Priſoner.

King: I may ſpeak after the *ſentence* ——

By your favor ſir, I may ſpeak after the *ſentence* over:

By your favor (hold) the *ſentence* ſir ——

I ſay ſir, I do ——

I am not ſuffered for to ſpeak, expect what Juſtice other people will have.

O, Yes: All maner of perſons that have any thing else to do, are to depart at this time, and to give their attendance in the Painted Chamber, to which place this Court doth forthwith adjourn it ſelf.

Then the Court roſe, and the King went with his Guard to ſir *Robert Cottons*, and from thence to *White Hall*:

A List of the Names of the Judges and Officers of the High Court of Justice, which sate at the Tryall of the *KING* in the great Hall *Westminster*, *Jan.* 20th. 1648.

SErjeant *Bradshaw* Lord President.
Oliver Cromwell L. Gen.
Henry Ireton Com. Gen.
Col. *Hardress Waller.*
Col. *Harrison.*
Col. *Whaley.*
Col. *Pride.*
Col. *Ewer.*
Lord *Grey* of Groby.
Sir *John D'Anvers*
Sir *Tho Malevever.*
Sir *John Bowcher.*
William Henningham.
Alderman Pennington.
Henry Martin.
Col. *Purefoy.*
Col. *Barkstead.*
Col. *Tomlinson.*
Mr. *Blackston.*
Mr. *Millington.*
Sir *Gregory Norton.*
Col. *Harvey.*
Col. *Ven.*
Mr. *Scott.*
Alder. *Andrews.*
Mr. *Crawley.*
Mr. *Burvell.*
Col. *Stapley.*
Col *Downes.*
L: Gen. *Hamond.*
Mr. *Love.*
Mr. *Norton.*
Mr. *Potter.*
Mr *Garland.*
Sir *William Constable.*
Col *Ludlow.*
Col *Hutchinson.*
Sr *Michell Livesey.*
Mr. *Dixwell.*
Col *Fleetwood.*
Mr. *Mayne.*
Mr. *James Temple.*
Mr. *Blagrave.*
Col. *Titchbourne.*
Col. *Ronet.*
Col. *Scroop.*
Col *Lilbourne.*
Col. *Deane.*
Col. *Okey.*
Col *Huson.*
L. Col. *Goffe.*
Mr. *Corn: Holand.*
Mr. *Carew.*
Mr. *John Jones.*
Mr. *Miles Corbet.*
Mr. *Francis Allen.*
Mr. *Perigrin Pelham.*
Col. *Moore.*
Mr. *Eldner.*
Mr. *Edwards.*
Mr. *Clement*
Col. *Woggon.*

Officers

Officers of the COURT.

D. *Doriſlow* } Councellors for the
Mr: *Juſtice Aske* } Common wealth:

Mr. *Cook* Solicitor Generall.

Mr. *Broughton* }
Mr. *Phelps*. } Clarks to the Court.

Serjant *Danby* Mace Bearer.

Col. *Humphrey* Sword bearer.

Mr. *King* Cryer of the Court.

Other matter relating to the proceeding in the tryall of CHARLES STUART late King of *England*.

Reſolutions of the Court in the Painted Chamber.

Lunæ Jan. 22. 1648.

THisday the King being withdrawn from the Bar the High Court of Juſtice, The Commiſſioners th ſaid Court of High Juſtice ſate private in the Pain ee Chamber; And conſidered of the Kings Carriag upon the Saturday before, and of all that had the paſſed, and fully approved of what the Lord Preſider had done and ſaid in the mannaging of the buſines of that day as agreeing to their ſenſe: And perceivin what the King aymed at, *viz.* to bring in queſtio (if he could) the juriſdiction of the Court, and th authority thereof, whereby they ſate, And conſiderin that in the interim he had not acknowledged them i any ſort to be a Court, or his Judges, and through the ſides intended to wound (if he might be permitted th

the ſupream Authority of *the Commons of England* in their Repreſentative the Commons aſſembled in Parliament; After advice with their Councell learned in both Laws and mature deliberation had of the matter:

Reſolved that the King ſhould not be ſuffered to argue the Courts juriſdiction, or that which conſtituted them a Court, of which debate they had not proper Cogniſance, nor could they being a derivative Judge of that ſupreame Court which made them Iudges, from which there was no appeale, And did therefore order and direct. *viz.*

Ordered that in caſe the King ſhall againe offer to diſpute the authority of the Court, the Lord Preſident do let him know, that the Court have taken into conſideration his demands of the laſt day; And that he ought to reſt ſatisfied with this anſwer: That the Commons of *England* aſſembled in Parliament have conſtituted this Court, whoſe power may not, nor ſhould be permitted to be diſputed by him:

That in caſe the King ſhall refuſe to anſwer or acknowledge the Court, the Lord Preſident doe let him know that the Court will take it as a contumacy, and that it ſhall be ſo recorded:

That in caſe he ſhall offer to anſwer with a ſaving notwithſtanding of his pretended prerogative above the juriſdiction of the Court:

That the Lord Preſident doe in the name of the Court refuſe his proteſt, and require his poſitive anſwer, whether he will own the Court or not:

That in caſe the King ſhall demand a coppy of the charge, that he ſhall then declare his intention to anſwer, & that declaring his intention, a copy be granted to him.

That in caſe the King ſhall ſtill perſiſt in his contempt the Lord Preſident doe give command to the Clerk to demand of the King in the name of the Court in theſe words following, *viz.*

Charles Stuart, *King of England, you are accuſed in the behalfe of the people of* England *of divers high crimes and treaſons, which Charge hath been read unto you:*

The Court requires you to give a poſitive anſwer to confeſſe or deny the charge, having determined that you ought to anſwer the ſame.

Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*, Col: *Harriſon*, Col. *Dean*, Commr Gen. *Ireton*, Col: *Okey*, are appointed to conſider of the time and place for the Execution of the King according to his ſentence given by the high court of Juſtice.

Painted Chamber Lunæ Jan. 29. 1648.

Upon Report made from the Committee for conſidering of the time and place for the executing of the Judgement againſt the King, That the ſaid Committee have reſolved, That the open ſtreet before *White Hall* is a fit place, And that the ſaid Committee conceive it fit that the King be there executed the morrow. The King having notice thereof. The Court approves thereof, & ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpoſe, and agreed unto, and ordered it to be engroſſed.

Painted Chamber,

30. *Jan.* 1648. *The Commiſſioners met*

And

Ordered, That Mr. *Marſhall*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Caryll* Mr: *Salway*, and Mr: *Dell*, be deſired to attend the King to adminiſter to him thoſe ſpirituall helps, as ſhould be ſuitable to his preſent condition: And Leivtenant Col: *Goffe* is deſired forthwith to repaire unto them for that purpoſe.

Who did ſo, but after informed the Court, That the King being acquainted therewith, refuſed to confer with them, expreſſing that he would not be troubled with them:

Ordered, That the Scaffold upon which the King is to be executed be covered with black:

The Warrant for executing the King being accordingly delivered to thoſe parties to whom the ſame

was

was directed, execution was done upon him according to the tenor of the Warrant about two of the clock in the afternoon of the ſaid 30th: of *Ianuary*.

King Charles *his Speech made upon the Scaffold at White-Hall-Gate immediately before his Execution. Tueſday, Ian.* 30.

ABout ten in the morning the King was brought from St. *Iames's*, walking on foot through the Park, with a Regiment of Foot, part before and part behinde him, with Colours flying Drums beating, his private guard of Partizans, with ſome of his Gentlemen before, and ſome behinde bare-headed, Dr. *Iuxon* next behinde him, and Colonell *Thomlinſon* (who had the charge of him) talking with the King bare-headed from the Park, up the ſtaires into the Gallery, and ſo into the *Cabinet Chamber*, where he uſed to lie, where he continued at his Devotion, refuſing to dine (having before taken the *Sacrament*) onely about an hour before he came forth, he drank a glaſs of Claret wine, and eat a peece of bread about twelve at noon.

From thence he was accompanied by Dr. *Iuxon*, Col. *Thomlinſon*, and other Officers, formerly appointed to attend him, and the private guard of Partizans, with Muſketiers on each ſide, through the Banqueting houſe adjoyning, to which the Scaffold was erected, between Whitehall Gate, and the Gate leading into the Gallery from *S. James's*: The ſcaffold was hung round with black, and the floor covered with black, and the Ax and Block layd in the middle of the ſcaffold. There were divers Companies of Foot, & troops of Horſe placed on the one ſide of the ſcaffold towards *Kings ſtreet*, and on the other ſide towards *Charing Croſs*, and the multitudes of people that came to be ſpectators very great.

The

The King being come upon the Scaffold, look'd very earneſtly upon the block, and asked Col. *Hacker* if there were no higher: and then ſpeak thus (directing his Speech chiefly to Col. *Thomlinſon.*)

King. I *Shall be very little heard of any body here, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word unto you here: indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make ſome men think, that I did ſubmit to the guilt, as well as to the puniſhment, but I think it is my duty to God firſt, and to my Country, for to clear my ſelf both as an honeſt man, a good* King, *and a good Chriſtian. I ſhall begin firſt with my* Innocency, *In truth I think it not very needfull for me to inſiſt long upon this, for all the world knows that I never did begin a War with the two houſes of Parliament, and I call God to witneſs, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an account, That I never did intend for to incroach upon their Priviledges, they began upon me, it is the Militia they began upon, they confeſt that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me: and to be ſhort, if any body will look to the dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe to the Declarations, will ſee clearly that they began theſe unhappy Troubles, not I: ſo that as the guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are layd againſt me, I hope in God that God will clear me of, I will not, I am in charity: God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the two Houſes of Parliament, there is no neceſſity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt: for I do beleeve that ill inſtruments between them and me, has been the cheif cauſe of all this blood-ſhed: ſo that by way of ſpeaking, as I find my ſelfe clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian as not to ſay that Gods judgments are juſt upon me: Many times he does pay Juſtice by unjuſt Sentence, that is ordinary. I will onely ſay this, That. an unjuſt Sentence*

* *that I ſuffered for to take effect, is* Strafford *puniſhed*

puniſhed now by an unjuſt Sentence upon me, that is ſo ſo I have ſaid, to ſhew you that I am an innocent man.

Now for to ſhew you that I am a good Chriſtian: I hope there is * a good man that will bear me witneſs, That I have forgiven all the world, and even thoſe in particular that have been the chief cauſers of my death; who they are, God knowes, I do not deſire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity muſt go farther, I wiſh that they may repent, for indeed they have commited a great ſin in that particular: I pray God with St. Stephen, that this be not layed to their charge, nay not onely ſo, but that they may take the right way to the Peace of the Kingdom, for my Charity commands me, not onely to forgive particular men, but my Charity commands me to endevor to the laſt gaſp the Peace of the Kingdom. So (Sir) I do wiſh with all my ſoul, and I do hope there is ſome here will carry it further) that they may endeavor the Peace of the Kingdom.

* pointing to Dr. Iuxton.

* Turning to ſome Gentlemen that wrote.

Now (Sirs) I muſt ſhew you both how you are out of the way, and will put you in the way: firſt. you are out of the way for certainly all the way you ever have had yet as I could finde by any thing is in the way of conqueſt; certainly this is an ill way: for Conqueſt (Sir) in my opinion is never juſt, except there be a good juſt Cauſe, either for matter of wrong or juſt Title, and then if you go beyond it, the firſt quarrell that you have to it is it that makes it unjuſt at the end that was juſt at firſt: But if it be onely matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery as a Pirat ſaid to Alexander, that He was the great Robber, he was but a petty Robber: and ſo, Sir, I do think the way that you are in, is much out of the way. Now Sir, for to put you in the way, beleeve it you will never do right, nor God will never proſper you, untill you give God his due, the King his due (that is, my Succeſſors) and the people their due: I am as much for them as any of you: You muſt give God his due, by regulating rightly his

Chu. ch

Church (according to his Scriptures) which is now out of order: For to ſet you in a way particularly now I cannot, but only this, A National Synod freely called, freely debating among themſelves, muſt ſettle this, when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not (then turning to a Gentleman that touched the Ax, ſaid, *hurt not the Ax, that may hurt me* *. *For the King*) *the Lawes of the Land will clearly inſtruct you for that; therefore becauſe it concerns my own particular, I only give you a touch of it.*

*Meaning if he did blunt the edge

For the people: And truly I deſire their Liberty and freedom as much as any body whoſoever but I muſt tell you, That their Liberty and freedom conſiſts in having of Government; thoſe Laws, by which their Life and their Goods may be moſt their own. It is not for having ſhare in Government (Sir) that is nothing pertaining to them; A Subject and a Soveraign are clean different things, and therefore until they do that, I mean, That you do put the people in that Liberty as I ſay, certainly they will never enjoy themſelves.

Sir, It was for this that now I am come here: If I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the ſword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the Martyr of the people.

Introth Sirs, I ſhall not hold you much longer, for I will only ſay this to you, That introth I could have deſired ſome little time longer, becauſe I would have put this that I have ſaid in a little more order, and a little better digeſted, then I have done, and therefore I hope you will excuſe me.

I have delivered my Conſcience, I pray God that you do take thoſe courſes that are beſt for the good of the Kingdom & your own ſalvations.

Dr. *Juxton* Will your Majeſty (though it may be very well known your Majeſties affections to Religion,

on, yet it may be expected that you ſhould) ſay ſome what for the worlds ſatisfaction.

King. I *thank you very hartily* (*my Lord for that I had almoſt forgoten it. introth Sirs, My Conſcience in Religion I think is very well known to all the world, and therefore I declare before you all, That I dye a Chriſtian; according to the profeſſion of the Church of* England, *as I found it left me by my Father, and this honeſt man** *I think will witneſs it.* Then turning to the Officers, ſaid: *Sirs, excuſe me for this ſame, I have a good cauſe, and I have a gracious God, I will ſay no more.* Then turning to Colonel *Hacker*, he ſaid; *Take care they do not put me to pain, and ſi, this, and it pleaſe you*; But then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the king ſaid, *Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax*, then the king ſpeaking to the Executioner, ſaid, I *ſhall ſay but very ſhort Prayers, and when I thruſt out my hands* ——— Then the King called to Doctor *Juxton* for his *Night-cap*, and having put it on, he ſaid to the Executioner, *Does my hair trouble you?* who deſired him to put it all under his Cap, which the king did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Biſhop: Then the king turning to Doctor *Iuxton*, ſaid, I *have a good Cauſe and and a gracious God on my ſide.*

* Pointing to D. *Juxon.*

Doctor *Juxton.* There is but one Stage more, This Stage is turbulent and troubleſom, it is a ſhort one: But you may conſider, it will ſoon carry you a very great way: it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you ſhall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King I *go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown; where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the world.*

Doctor *Juxton* You are exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange.

The King then ſaid to the Executioner, is my hair well? Then the King took off His Cloak and his George, giving his George to Doctor *Iuxton*, ſaying

Ren em-

Remember*——

Then the King put off his Doubler, and being in his Waſtcoat, put his Cloak on again, then looked upon the block, ſaid to the Executioner, *You muſt ſet it faſt.*

* *It is thought for to give it to the Prince.*

Executioner. It is faſt Sir.

King. when I put my hands out this way, ſtretching them out, then——

After that having ſaid two or three words (as he ſtood) to himſelf, with hands and eyes lift up; Immediately ſtooping down, laid his neck upon the Block: And then the Executioner again putting his hair under his Cap, the King ſaid (Thinking he had been going to ſtrike) ſtay for the ſign.

Executioner, Yes, I will, and it pleaſe your Majeſty.

And after a very little pauſe, the King ſtretching forth his hands, The Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body, the head being off, the Executioner held it up, and ſhewed it to the people, which done; It was with the Body put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet for that purpoſe, and conveyed into his Lodgings there: And from thence it was carried to his houſe at S. *James's*, where his body was put in a Coffin of Lead, laid there to be ſeen by the people; and about a fortnight after it was carried to *Windſor*, accompanied with the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, and Doctor *Iuxton*, late Biſhop of *London*, and others, and interred in the Chappel-Royall in the Vault with *King Henry* the eight, having only this Inſcription upon his Coffin. *Charles King of England.*

Sic tranſit Gloria Mundi.

The Earl of *Straffords* Speech, or the the concluſion of his Defence, before the L. High Steward, and the reſt of the Lords ſitting in Weſtminſter Hall *April*, 12. 1641. Together with his Speech on the ſcaffold immediately before his Execution on Tower-hill, *May* 12. 1641.

MY Lords! There yet remains another Treaſon, that I ſhould be guilty of; the endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamentall Lawes of the Land, that they ſhould now be Treaſon together, that is not Treaſon in any one part of Treaſon accumulative, that ſo when all will not do, it is woven up with others, it ſhould ſeem very ſtrange.

Under favour my Lords, I do not conceive that there is either Statute Law, nor Common-Law, that doth declare the endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamentall Laws to be high Treaſon.

For neither Statute Law, nor Common-Law written, that ever I could heare of, declareth it ſo.

And yet I have been diligent to enquire, (as I beleeve you thinke it doth concerne me to doe.)

It is hard to be queſtioned for life and honour, upon a Law that cannot be ſhowne.

There is a rule which I have learned from Sir *Edward Cooke*, *De non apparentibus & non exiſtentibus eadem ratio*: (Ieſu) where hath this fire laine

all this while, ſo many hundred of yeares without any ſmoake to diſcover it, till it thus burſt out to conſume me and my children; extreme hard in my opinion, that puiniſhment ſhould precede promulgation of Law puniſhed by a Law ſubſequent to the Acts done.

Take it into your conſiderations: for certainly it is now better to be under no Law at all, but the will of men, then to conforme our ſelves under the protection of a Law as wee thinke, and then be puniſhed for a crime that doth precede the Law: what man can be ſafe, if that be once admitted?

My Lords, it is hard in another reſpect, that there ſhould bee no token ſet upon this offence, by which we ſhould know it, no admonition by which we ſhould be aware of it.

If a man paſſe downe the Thames in a Boat and it be ſplit upon an Anchor, and no Booy be ſet as a token that there is an Anchor there, that party that owes the Anchor, by the Maritime Lawes ſhall give ſatisfaction for the damamage done; but if it were marked our, I muſt come upon my owne perill.

Now where is a marke upon this crime? Where is the token this is high treaſon?

If it be under water, and not above water, no humane providence can availe nor prevent my deſtruction.

Lay a ſide all humane wiſdome, and let us reſt upon divine Revelation, if you will condemne before you forewarne the danger

Oh my Lords! may your Lordſhips be pleaſed to give that regard unto the Peerage of England, as never to ſuffer our ſelves to be put on thoſe nice points upon ſuch contractive interpretations; and theſe are where Lawes are not cleare, or knowne. If there muſt be a tryall of wits, I doe humbly beſeech you the ſubject and matter may be ſomewhat elſe then the lives and honours of Peeres.

My Lords, wee find, that the primitive times, in the progreſſion of the plaine Doctrine of the Apoſtles, they brought the Bookes of curious Artes, and burned them. And ſo likewiſe as I doe conceive, it will be wiſdome and provedence in your Lordſhips, for your poſterity, and the whole Kingdome, to caſt from you into the fire theſe bloody and moſt myſterious Volumes of conſtructive and Arbitrary Treaſon; and to betake your ſelves to the plaine Letters of the Law and Statute, that telleth us where the crime is, and by telling what is and what is not, ſhewes us how to avoid it. And let us not be ambitious, to be more wiſe and learned in the killing Arts, then our forefathers were.

It is now full two hundred and forty yeares ſince ever any man was touched for this alledged crime (to this height) before my ſelfe; we have lived happily to our ſelves at home, and we have lived gloriouſly to the world abroad.

Let us reſt contented with that our fathers left us, and not awaken thoſe ſleepy Lyons to our owne deſtructions; by raking up a few muſty Records that have layen ſo many ages by the walls, quite forgotten and neglected.

May your Lordſhips be Nobly pleaſed, to adde this to thoſe other miſ-fortunes befallen me for my ſins, not for my Treaſons; that a preſident ſhould be derived from me of that diſadvantage (as this will be in the conſequent to the whole Kingdome) I beſeech you ſeriouſly to conſider it, and let not my particular cauſe be looked upon as you do; though you wound me in my intereſt in the Common-wealth, and therefore thoſe Genelemen ſay, that they ſpeake for the Common-wealth, yet in this particular I indeed ſpeak for it, and the inconveniences and michiefes that will heavily fall upon us; for as it is in the firſt of *Henry*

the fourth, no man will after know what to do, or ſay for feare.

Do not put my Lords ſo great difficulties upon the Miniſters of State, that men of wiſdome, honour, and vertue may not with cheerefullneſſe and ſafery, be imployed for the publike; if you weigh and meaſure them by graines and ſcruples, the publike affaires of the Kingdome will be laid waſte, & no man will meddle with them, that hath honours, iſſues, or any fortunes to loſe.

My Lords, I have now troubled you longer then I ſhould have done, were it not for the intereſt of thoſe dear pledges a Saint in heaven left me; I ſhould be loth my Lords; (there he ſtopped.)

What I forfeit for my ſelfe it is nothing, but that my in diſcretion ſhould forfeit for my child, it even woundeth me deepe to the very ſoule.

You will pardon my infirmity, ſomething I ſhould have ſaid, but I am not able, (and ſighed) therefore let it paſſe.

And now my Lords, I have been, by the bleſſing of Almighty God, taught, that the afflictions of this life preſent, are not to be compared to the eternall weight of that glory that ſhall revealed to us hereafter.

And ſo my Lords, even ſo with tranquillity of mind I do ſubmit my ſelfe freely and clearly to your Lordſhips judgements; and whether that righteous judgment ſhall be to life or death,

Te deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur.

THE

The Earle of *Straffords* Speech on the Scaffold immediately before his Execution on Tower-hill, *May* 12. 1641.

My L. Primate of Ireland!

IT is my very great comfort that I have your Lordſhip by me this day, in regard I have beene known to you theſe many yeares, and I doe thank God and your Lordſhip for it that you are here, I ſhould bee very glad to obteine ſo much ſilence as to be heard a few words, but I doubt I ſhall not, the noiſe is ſo great. My Lords, I am come hither by the good will and pleaſure of Almighty God, to pay that laſt debt I owe to ſinne; which is death, and by the bleſſing of that God, to riſe again through the merits of *Ieſus Chriſt* to righteouſneſſe and life æternall. [Here he was a little interrupted.]

My Lords, I am come hither to ſubmit to that Judgement which hath paſſed againſt me, I do it with a very quiet and contented minde, I thank God, I doe freely forgive all the world, a forgiveneſſe, that is not ſpoken from the teeth outwards (as they ſay) but from the very heart, I ſpeake it in the preſence of Almighty God, before whom I ſtand, that there is not a diſpleaſing thought ariſing in me towards any man living. I thank God I can ſay it, and truly too, my conſcience bearing me witneſſe, that in all my imployment ſince I had the Honour to ſerve his Majeſtie, I never had any thing in the purpoſe of my heart but what tended to the Joynt and Individuall proſperity of King, and people; although it hath beene my ill fortune to be miſconſtrued.

I am not the firſt that hath ſuffered in this kinde, it is the common portion of us all, while we are in this life to err, Righteous Judgment we muſt wait for in another place, for here we are very ſubject to be miſ-judged one

of another; there is one thing that I desire to free my selfe of, and I am very confident (speaking it now with so much cheerfullneſſe) that I ſhall obteine your Chriſtian charity in the beliefe of it. I was ſo farre from being againſt Parliaments, that I did allwaies think the Parliaments of England were the moſt happy conſtitutions that any Kingdome or Nation lived under, and the beſt means under God to make the King and people happy.

For my Death I here acquit all the world, and beſeech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the Intentions and purpoſes of my heart I am not guilty of what I dy for; And my Lord Primate it is a great comfort for me, that his Majeſty conceives me not meriting ſo ſevere and heavy a puniſhment as is the utmoſt execution of this Sentence. I do infinitly rejoyce in this mercy of his, and I beſeech God returne it into his own boſome, that he may find mercy when he ſtands moſt in need of it.

I wiſh this Kingdome all the Proſperity and happineſſe in the world, I did it living, and now dying it is my wiſh, I doe moſt humbly recommend this to every one who heares mee, and deſire they would lay their hands upon their hearts, and conſider ſeriouſly whether the beginning of the happineſſe and reformation of a Kingdome ſhould be written in Letters of blood: conſider this when you are at your homes, and let me be never ſo unhappy, as that the laſt drop of my blood ſhould riſe up in Judgement againſt any one of you, but I feare you are in a wrong way.

My Lords, I have but one word more, and with that I ſhall end. I profeſſe that I die a true and obedient Sonne to the Church of England; wherein I was borne & in which I was bred. Peace and proſperity be ever to it.

It hath beene objected (if it were an objection worth the anſwering) that I have been inclined to Popery, but

I

I ſay truly from my heart, that from the time that I was one and twenty yeares of age to this preſent, going now upon fourty nine; I never had in my heart to doubt of this Religion of the Church of England; Nor ever had any man the boldneſſe to ſuggeſt any ſuch thing to mee, to the beſt of my remembrance, and ſo being reconciled, by the merits of *Ieſus Chriſt* my *Saviour*, into whoſe boſome I hope I ſhall ſhortly be gathered, to thoſe eternall happineſſes which ſhall never have end; I deſire heartily the forgiveneſſe, of every man, for any raſh or unadviſed words, or any thing done amiſſe, and ſo my Lords and Gentlemen Farewell; Farewell all the things of this world.

I deſire that you would be ſilent and joyne with me in prayer, and I truſt in God we ſhall all meet and live eternally in heaven, there to receive the Accompliſhment of all happineſſe, where every teare ſhall be wiped away from our eyes, and every ſad thought from our hearts; and ſo God bleſſe this Kingdome, and Jeſus have mercy on my Soule.

Then turning himſelfe about he Saluted all the noble men; and tooke a ſolemne leave of all conſiderable perſons upon the Scaffold, giving them his hand.

After that he ſaid, Gentlemen, I would ſay my prayers, and entreat you all to pray with me, and for me; then his Chaplaine laid the booke of Common prayer upon the Chayre before him, as he kneeled downe, on which he prayed almoſt a quarter of an houre, and then as long or longer without the Booke, and concluded with the Lords prayer.

Standing up he eſpies his Brother, Sir *George Wentworth*, and calls him to him ſaying, Brother, we muſt part, remember me to my ſiſter, and to my wife, and carry my bleſſing to my Sonne, and charge him that he feare God, and continue an obedient Sonne to the Church of England, and warne him that he beares no

private grudge or revenge toward any man concerning me; And bid him beware that he meddle not with Church-livings, for that will prove a moth and canker to him in his estate, and wish him to content himselfe to be a Servant to his Country, not aiming at higher Preferments.

Aliter] To his Sonne Master *Wentworth* he commends himselfe, and gives him charge to serve his God, to submit to his King with all faith and Allegiance in things temporall, to the Church in things Spirituall, chargeth him againe and againe, as he will answer it to him in heaven, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church, for if he did, it would be a Canker to eat up the rest of his Estate.

Carry my blessing also to my daughter *Anne*, and *Arabella*, charge them to serve and feare God, and he will blesse them; not forgetting my little Infant, who yet knowes neither good nor evill, and cannot speake for it selfe, God speake for it, and blesse it; now said he I have nigh done, one Stroke will make my wife husbandlesse, my deare children fatherlesse, and my poore Servants Masterlesse, and will seperate me from my deare brother, and all my friends. But let God be to you and them all in all.

After this going to take off his doublet and to make himselfe unready, he said, I thank God I am not affraid of Death, nor daunted with any discouragement rising from any feares, but doe as chearfully put off my doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to bed; then he put off his doublet, wound up his haire with his hands, and put on a white Cap.

Then he called, where is the man that is to doe this last office? (meaning the executioner) call him to me; when he came and asked him forgivnesse, he told him he forgave him and all the world: then kneeling down by the block, he went to prayer againe himselfe, the Primate

mate of Ireland kneeling on the one ſide, and the Miniſter on the other: To the which Miniſter, after prayer, he turned himſelfe, having done prayer, and ſpake ſome few words ſoftly, having his hands lifted-up, and cloſed with the Miniſters hands.

Then bowing himſelfe to lay his head upon the block, he told the Executioner that he would firſt lay down his head to try the fitneſſe of the block, and take it up againe before he would lay it down for good and all: And ſo he did; and before he layed it down again, he told the Executioner that he would give him warning when to ſtrike by ſtretching forth his hands; And preſently laying down his neck upon the block, and ſtretching forth his hands, the Executioner ſtrooke off his head at one blow, and taking it up in his hand ſhewed it to all the people, and ſaid, *God ſave the King.*

His body was afterwards embalmed, and appointed to be carried into York-ſhire, there to be buried amongſt his Anceſtors.

He left theſe three Inſtructions for his Sonne in Writing.

Firſt, That he ſhould continue ſtill to be brought up under thoſe Governors to whom he had committed him; As being the beſt he could pick out of all thoſe within his knowledge, and that he ſhould not change them, unleſſe they were weary of him; that he ſhould rather want himſelfe, then they ſhould want any thing they could deſire.

Secondly, He charged him as he would anſwer it at the laſt day, not to put himſelfe upon any publique employments till he was thirty yeares of age at leaſt: And then if his Prince ſhould call him to Publique Service, he ſhould carefully undertake it, to teſtify his obedience, and withall to be faithfull and ſincere to his Maſter, though he ſhould come to the ſame end that himſelfe did.

Thirdly

Thirdly, That he ſhould never lay any hand upon any thing that belonged to the Church; He foreſaw that ruine was like to come upon the Revenues of the Church, and that perhaps they might be ſhared amongſt the Nobility, and Gentry: But if his Sonne medled with any of it, he wiſhed the curſe of God might follow him, and all them, to the Deſtruction *of the moſt Apoſtolicall Church upon Earth.*

Sir *Alexander Carew* (Baronet) his Triall, together with his Speech upon the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, immediately before his execution, on Munday *Decemb.* 23. 1644.

ON *Tueſday* Novemb. 19. 1644. *By the Court then ſitting in* Guild-Hall London, (*Sir* John Corbet *being Preſident of the Court*) *Sir* Alexander Carew *Baronet was tried. The effect of the Charge againſt him was, that he the ſaid* Alexander Carew *being Governour of the Iſland of* S. Nicolas *neare* Plymouth, *and of the Forces therein for the Parliament, did hold correſpondency with the Enemy, both by private Treaties and by Letters, and endeavoured the yeelding of that Iſland and Fort to the Enemy, as appears by divers of his Letters to Colonel* Edgcombe, *and Major* Scowen, *of the Enemies party, which Charge was grounded upon the* 2. *and* 7. *Articles in the Ordinances of Parliament for Martiall Law. Secondly, that whereas Sir* George Chidleigh *was pitcht upon as Governour for that Iſland, and for that purpoſe he had a Commiſſion from the Earl of* Eſſex, *and by deputation from him by conſent of Parliament, the charge and government thereof was intruſted upon Sir* Alexander Carew, *but the ſaid Sir* Alex. Carew, *as is juſtly proved*

ved by divers Witneſſes, the deſigne was plotted and contrived. After his heart was poſſeſſed with theſe Treaties with the Enemie, it ſoon vented it ſelf into outward expreſſions: Firſt by openly declaring his reſolution to hold this Iſland for the King, *and then by indeavouring to put that reſolution in practice. Many other circumſtances were alleged againſt him to this purpoſe, and made good againſt him by divers Witneſſes: viz.* Mr. Frances, *the Mayor of Plymouth*, Mr. Willis *and* Mr Randall, *both Miniſters*, Robert Roe, *Captain* John Hancock, Mr. Perce, Mr. Deep *Merchants*, Arthur Skinner, *beſides divers of his own Souldiers. All which by their ſeverall Depoſitions did cleerly prove his ſaid deſigne to betray the Iſland to the Enemy: Many of which actions as aforeſaid, though clearly proved and teſtified upon oath the ſaid Sir* Alexander Carew *denied, and pleaded that the Ordinance of Parliament did look forward, and not backward, and that he ought not to be tried by them.*

Unto which Mr. *Mills*, Advocate of the Court, replied:

1. *That your defence was grounded upon the Ordinance of Parliament, which they hold not onely inſufficient, but to reflect upon the wiſdome and juſtice of the Parliament.*

2. *That the exception grew upon a great miſtake: for the two Articles which they proceeded againſt you, is upon the ſecond and ſeventh Article, which are very cleer againſt you, viz. the ſecond and ſeventh,* Whoſoever ſhall plot, *&c.* (*as in the Article*) *both look back as well as forward, and theſe Articles do not create a new, but only declare the puniſhment of that was before, which by all the Lawes Civill is death; and treachery and treaſon, which is your caſe, which is a Law to be taken notice of and known by all Commanders in Armies.*

mies. For the Proviſo *in the Ordinance, it is plain in it ſelf.*

After which the Sentence of the Court was pronounced.

The Sentence againſt Sir Alexander Carew *Baronet.*

Sir Alexander Carew Baronet, You have been arraigned & convicted before this honorable Court Martiall, That you being a Commander in the ſervice of the Parliament, and particularly Commander of S. *Nicolas* Iſland and the Forces there, have traiterouſly deſerted your truſt, and perfidiouſly plotted, and combined, and indeavoured to betray the ſaid Iſle and Forces to the Enemy, For which this honourable Court Martiall doth adjudge you to death, by having your head ſevered from your body.

According to which Sentence of the Court, upon Munday 23. of December 1644. Sir Alex. Carew *Baronet was brought from the Tower by the Lieutenant and his Officers to Tower-Hill, attended by three Companies of the trained Bands of the City, where being come upon the ſcaffold (after ſome conference with the Miniſters) he addreſſed himſelf to the people there preſent.*

Sir *Alexander Carew's* Speech on the ſcaffold.

Gentlemen:

I Hope you will (in conſideration of my weak body) not expect that I ſhould ſpeak much to you, neither is it my part to diſcourſe (nor my deſire) of my actions, and to juſtifie my ſelf, but I ſhall rather confeſſe as the poore Publican did, *God be mercifull to me a ſinner.* I deſire your prayers to God for me, and I pray

pray to God for you, that no one drop of my blood may be required at any mans hands. I forgive all the world, with as full and free heart as mortall man can; and I beſeech God in heaven to forgive me mine, the God of heaven and earth, that ſeeth, heareth, and beholdeth, knowes that I lie not. I have deſired with unfained deſire and hearty affection to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt, knowing that it ſhall be better for me, being aſſured thereby to be freed from the miſeries of ſin, and enter into a better life. It was the laſt words of my Grandfather, and here of my Father, the aſſurance of their eternall peace and happineſſe after the diſſolution of this body of theirs, in which they lived here on earth: it is mine likewiſe; I have no more to ſay, but humbly take my leave of you.

Upon the concluſion of his Speech he deſired the People then preſent to joyne with him in ſinging the 23. *Pſalme, which he read very diſtinctly to them, and joyned with them with much fervency therein. The Pſalme being ended he put on his cap, and unbuttoned himſelf, and with much reſolution laid his head on the block. The Executioner at two ſtrokes ſtruck his head from his body.*

Captain

Captaine *Hotham's* Speech on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill immediately before his Execution *Wednesday*, January. 1. 1644.

Gentlemen,

YOU see here in what condition I ſtand, you all come here to look upon me as a Spectacle of ſhame and Juſtice: And I believe a great many of you are poſſeſt with very great Crimes that I have committed of Treaſon againſt the Parliament. Thoſe things I muſt declare to you all; that this Conſcience knowes no guilt of; I did ingage my ſelfe in the Parliaments cauſe, I did them ſervice in poſſeſſing of *Hull*; I preſerved their Forts and Magazines, I preſerved their Townes and Forces wherſoever they came, and never miſcarried. It hath pleaſed God to bring me to this end for my ſins to him, which I acknowledge to be juſt, but not for any ſins that I have committed in Treaſon againſt the Parliament; Neither do I know any Treaſon or intention of Treaſon in my poore Father that lies in the ſame condition that I do, whatſoever other men do call Treaſon. This I teſtifie to you all here: ſome few words more he Spake to this purpoſe, after the executioner did his office:

Sir *John Hotham's* Speech on the ſcaffold on *Tower-hill*, immediately before his Execution, *Thurſday January* 2. 1644.

HE *being come upon the Scaffold with* Mr. Peters *and other Miniſters and his Friends,* Mr. Peters *ſpake theſe words on his behalf to the people neer the Scaffold.*

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen,

It is the deſire of Sir John Hotham, *That ſince he hath in his chamber fully diſcovered to divers Miniſters his mind fully and clearly, that many queſtions may not be put to him here, but that he may ſeriouſly and quietly ſpeak what he is guilty of, and what he is guiltleſs in, and ſo the Lord direct him.*

Sir *John Hothams* Speech.

Gentlemen,

I Know no more of my ſelfe, but this, That I deſerve this Death from God Almightie, and that I deſerve damnation, and the ſevereſt puniſhments from him: As for the buſineſſe of *Hull*, the betraying of it from the Parliament, the Miniſters have all been with me, and given me good counſell, I thank them; Neither was I any waies guilty of it, that's all I can ſay to that Act. For other offences, raſh words, anger, and ſuch things, no man hath been more guilty. I beſeech God to forgive me, I have received as many favours as any man from God, and I have been as ingratefull as any man could be; and God Almighty (I hope) has forgiven me my ſins, and I deſire you all to pray to God for me, that I may be forgiven.

I hope God Almighty will forgive the Parliament & the Court Martiall, and all men that have had any thing to do with my death. And Gentlemen I thank this Noble* Gentleman for putting me, in mind of it, and I pray God bring more things to my memory; and Gentlemen, look to it all as I; I have received many mercies, I have been ingratefull to God Almighty, & God Almighty hath let me ſee that though for this offence, wherof I am accuſed, he hath not done it, yet he hath brought this affliction upon me,

* *He was hereunto moved by* Mr. Peters.

to ſave my ſoule (by Chriſt Jeſus merits) for alas this affliction is nothing to all my ſins, God Almighty kept me from my Triall at St. *Albans*, and other places, to bring me to this, that I hope I ſhall glorifie God in: And his bleſſed name be ever glorified.

Then Mr. *Peters* added,

THis is that I have now to ſay. It hath been my Let to ſpend much time with Sir Iohn Hotham: *Gentlemen, this is that he would have me to declare unto you, that you may ſee in him the vanity of all things here below, he hath lived in abundance of plenty, and his eſtate hath been very large, he hath been a man of* 3000 *l. a yeare, and he had much mony by him: in the beginning of his daiet he was a Souldier in the Low-Countries, at the battell at* Prague: *he does profeſſe, that in the places he lived in (in the North parts of* England) *there was much ignorance through want of faithfull Preachers; And I do wonder at it, ſince the Repreive came, I have found the mercy of God revealed to him more, every day then other, eſpecially by meanes of the Miniſters whoſe boſomes God hath opened towards him.*

Pray, be pleaſed to take notice of his deſire, that you ſhould ſee by him the vanity of wit, parts, proweſſe, ſtrength or honour, or any thing that comes by men.

After this he ſaid, Sir Iohn Hotham *deſired him to let them know, that upon his firſt going out a Souldier, his Father ſeeing him on Horſe-back, ſpake to him thus.*

Son; when the Crowne of England lies at ſtake then you will have fighting enough without going out of the land.

THE

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his Speech or Funerall Sermon, immediately before his execution on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, *January* 10. 1644.

Upon *Heb.* 12. 1, 2.

Let us run with patience that race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus the author and finiſher of our faith, who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſſe, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet downe at the right hand of the Throne of God.

Good People!

YOu'l pardon my old Memory, and upon ſo ſad occaſions as I am come to this place, to make uſe of my papers, I dare not truſt my ſelf otherwiſe.

Good People! This is a very uncomfortable place to preach in, and yet I ſhall begin with a Text of Scripture, in the twelfth of the *Hebrewes*,

Let us run with patience that race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus the author and finiſher of our faith, who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſſe, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet downe at the right hand of the Throne of God.

I have been long in my race,* and how I have looked unto Jeſus the Author and finiſher of my faith, is beſt known to him: I am now come to the end of my race, and here I find the Croſſe, a death of ſhame, but the ſhame muſt be deſpiſed, or there is no coming to the right hand of God; Jeſus deſpiſ'd the ſhame for me, and God forbid but I ſhould deſpiſe the ſhame for him. I am going apace, as you ſee, towards the Red-ſea, and my feet are upon the very brinks of it, an argument, I hope, that that God is bringing me to the Land of Promiſe,

* *An. Æt.* 72.

for that was the way by which of old he led his people; But before they came to the Sea, he inſtituted a paſſe-over for them, a Lamb it was, but it was to be eaten with very ſowre Herbes, as in the Twelfth of *Exodus*.

I ſhall obey, and labour to diſgeſt the ſowre Herbs, as well as the Lamb, and I ſhall remember that it is the Lords Paſſeover; I ſhall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the hands that gathered them, but look up only to him who inſtituted the one, ond governeth the other: For men can have no more power over me, then that which is given them from above; I am not in love with this paſſage through the red-Sea, for I have the weakneſſe and infirmity of fleſh and blood in me, and I have prayed as my Saviour taught me, and exanpled me, *Vt tranſirit calix iſta.*

That this Cup of red Wine might paſſe away from me, but ſince it is not that my will may, his will be done; and I ſhall moſt willingly drinke of this Cup as deepe as he pleaſes, and enter into this Sea, and paſſe through it, in the way that he will be pleaſed to lead me.

And yet (Good People) it would be remembred, That when the Servants of God, old *Iſrael*, were in this boiſterous Sea, and *Aaron* with them, the Egyptians which perſecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into that Sea, were drowned in the ſame waters, while they were in purſuit of them: I know my God whom I ſerve, is as able to deliver me from this Sea of Blood, as he was to deliver three Children from the furnace, as *Daniel* 3.

And I moſt humbly thank my Saviour for it, my Reſolution is now, as theirs was then; their Reſolution was, They would not worſhip the Image the KING had ſet up; nor ſhall I the Imaginations which the PEOPLE are ſetting up, nor will I forſake

ſake the Temple, and the truth of GOD, to follow the Bleating of *Jeroboams* Calves in *Dan* and in *Bethel.*

And I pray God bleſſe all this People, and open their eyes, that they may ſee the right way; for if it fall out that the blind lead the blind, doubtleſſe they will both into the ditch: For my ſelfe, I am, (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a moſt grievous ſinner many wayes, by thought, word and deed, and therefore I cannot doubt but that GOD hath mercy in ſtore for me a poor penitent, as well as for other ſinners; I have, upon this ſad occaſion, ranſack'd every corner of my heart, and yet I thank God, I have not found any of my ſins that are there, any ſins now deſerving death by any known Law of this Kingdome; and yet thereby I charge nothing upon my Judges (I humbly beſeech you I may rightly be underſtood, I charge nothing in the leaſt degree upon my Judges) for they are to proceed by proofe, by valuable Witneſſes, & in that way for any Innocent in the world may juſtly be condemned: And I thank God, though the weight of the Sentence lye very heavie upon me, yet I am as quiet within, as (I thank Chriſt for it) I ever was in my life: And though I am not the firſt Archbiſhop, but the firſt man that ever dyed this way, yet ſome of my Predeceſſors have gone this way, though not by this meanes: for *Elfegus* was hurried away and loſt his head by the *Danes*; and *Simon Sudbury* in the fury of *Wat Tyler* and his fellowes: And long before theſe Saint *John Baptiſt* had his head danced off by a lewd Woman, and Saint *Cyprian* Archbiſhop of Carthage ſubmitted his head to a perſecuting ſword. Many examples great and good, for they teach me patience, and I hope my cauſe in Heaven mill looke of another dye then the the colour that is put upon it here upon earth; and ſome comfort it is to me, not only that I goe the way of theſe great

men in their ſeverall Generations, but alſo that my charge (if I may not be partiall) lookes ſomewhat like that againſt Saint *Paul* in the 25. of the *Acts*, for he was accuſed for the Law and the Temple, that is the Law and Religion; and like that of St. *Stephen* in the ſixth of the *Acts*, for breaking the Ordinances which *Moſes* gave us, which Ordinances were Law and Religion: but you'l ſay, doe I then compare my ſelfe with the integrity of Saint *Paul*, and Saint *Stephen*? no, God forbid, farr be it from me; I only raiſe a comfort to my ſelfe, that theſe great Saints and ſervants of God were thus laid up in their ſeverall times; And it is very memorable that Saint *Paul*, who was one of them, and a great one, that helped on the accuſation againſt Saint *Stephen*, fell afterwards into the ſelfeſame accuſation himſelfe, yet both of them great Saints and ſervants of God; I but perhaps a great clamour there is, that I would have brought in Popery, I ſhall anſwer that more fully by and by, in the meane time, you know what the Phariſees ſaid againſt Chriſt himſelfe, in the eleventh of *Iohn*, *If we let him alone all men will beleeve him*, Et veniunt Romani, *and the Romanes will come and take away both our place and the Nation*. Here was a cauſeleſſe cry againſt Chriſt that Romans would come, and ſee how juſt the Judgement of God was, they crucified Chriſt for feare leaſt the Romanes ſhould come, and his death was that that brought in the Romans upon them, God puniſhing them with that which they moſt feared: and I pray God this clamour of *veniunt Romani*, (of which I have given to my knowledge no juſt cauſe) help not to bring him in; for the Pope never had ſuch a harveſt in England ſince the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and diviſions that are among us; in the meane time, *by honour and diſhonour, by good report and evill report, as a deceiver and yet true*,

am I now paſſing out of this world. Some particulars alſo I think not amiſſe to ſpeake of.

Firſt this I ſhall be bold to ſpeake of the King, our gracious Soveraigne, he hath beene much traduced by ſome for labouring to bring in Popery, but upon my Conſcience (of which I am now going to give God a preſent account) I know him to be as free from this Charge I thinke as any man living, and I hold him to be as ſound a Proteſtant, according to the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed as any man in this Kingdom, and that he will venture his Life as farre and as freely for it; and I thinke I doe or ſhould know both his affection to Religion, and his grounds upon which that affection is built, as fully as any man in England.

The ſecond particular is concerning this great and populous City, which God bleſſe; here hath been of late a faſhion taken up to gather hands, and then goe to the Honourable and great Court of the Kingdome, the Parliament, and clamour for Iuſtice, as if that great and wiſe Court, (before whom the cauſes come which are unknown to the many;) could not, or would not doe Iuſtice, but at their call and appointment; a way which may endanger many an innocent man, and plucke innocent bloud upon their owne heads, and perhaps upon this City alſo, which God forbid: and this hath beene lately practiz'd againſt my ſelfe, God forgive the ſetters of this, with all my heart I begge it, but many well-meaning people are caught by it: In Saint *Stevens* caſe, when nothing elſe would ſerve, they ſtirred up the people againſt him, *Acts 6.* and *Herod* went juſt the ſelfe ſame way, for when he had kill'd Saint *Iames*, he would not venture upon Saint *Peter* too, till he ſaw how the people tooke it, and were pleaſed with it, in the 12 of the *Acts*. But take heed of having your hands full of bloud, in the firſt of *Iſaiah*; for there is a time beſt known to himſelfe, when God among other ſinnes

makes inquiſition for bloud; and when Inquiſition is on foot, the Pſalmiſt tells us, *Pſalme* 9. that God remembers, that is not all, *that God remembers and forgets not* (ſaith the Prophet) *the complaint of the poore*; and he tells you what poore they are in the ninth verſe, the poore whoſe bloud is ſhed by ſuch kind of meanes: Take heed of this, *It is a fearefull thing* (at any time) *to fall into the hands of the living God*, in the 12. of the *Hebrews*: but it is fearefull indeed, and then eſpecially, when he is making his Inquiſition for bloud, and therefore with my prayers to avert the Propheſie from the City, let me deſire that this City would remember the Propheſie that is expreſſed, *Ieremiah* 26.15

The third particular, is this poore Church of England, that hath flouriſhed and been a ſhelter to other neighbouring Churches, when ſtormes have driven upon them; but alaſſe, now it is in a ſtorme it ſelfe, and God knowes whether, or how it ſhall get out; and which is worſe then a ſtorme from without, it is become like an Oake cleft to ſhivers with wedges made out of its owne body, and that in every cleft, prophanceſſe and irreligion is creeping in apace; while as * *Proſper* ſaith, men that introduce prophaneſſe are cloaked with a name of imaginary religion: for we have in a manner almoſt loſt the ſubſtance, and dwell much, nay too much a great deale in Opinion; and that Church which all the Ieſuites machinations in theſe parts of Chriſtendome could not ruine, is now fallen into a great deale of danger by her own.

**Lib*: 2 *de vitæ Contemp*: *Cap*: 4.

The laſt particular (for I am not willing to be tedious, I ſhall haſten to goe out of this miſerrable world) is my ſelfe, and I beſeech you, as many as are within hearing, obſerve me, I was borne and baptized in the boſome of the Church of *Englaud*, as it ſtands yet eſtabliſhed by Law, in that profeſſion I have ever ſince lived, and

and in that profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion here eſtabliſhed I come now to die; this is no time to diſſemble with God, leaſt of all in matter of Religion, and therefore I deſire it may be remembred, I have alwayes lived in the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, and in that I come now to die: What Clamors and Slanders I have endured for labouring to keepe an Uniformity in the externall ſervice of God according to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of this Church all men know, and I have abundantly felt: Now at laſt I am accuſed of high Treaſon in Parliament, a crime which my ſoule ever abhorred, this Treaſon was charged upon me to conſiſt of two parts An endeavour to ſubvert the Law of the Realme, and a like endeavour to overthrow the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by thoſe Laws. Beſides my Anſwers which I gave to the ſeverall Charges, I proteſted my innocency in both Houſes; It was ſaid, Priſoners proteſtations at the Barre muſt not be taken *de ipſo*; I can bring no witneſſe of my heart, and the intentions thereof, therefore I muſt come to my Proteſtation, not at the bar, but to my Proteſtation at this houre and inſtant of my death in which (as *I* ſaid before) I hope all men will be ſuch charitable Chriſtians as not to thinke I would die and diſſemble my Religion, I doe therefore here, with that caution that I delivered before, without all prejudice in the world to my Judges, that are to proceed *ſecundum allegata & probata*, and ſo to be underſtood, I die in the preſence of Almighty God and all his holy and bleſſed Angels, and I take it now on my death, that I never endeavoured the ſubverſion of the Laws of the Realme, nor never any change of the Proteſtant Religion into Popiſh ſuperſtition: and I deſire you all to remember this Proteſt of mine, for my innocency in theſe and from all manner of Treaſons whatſoever.

I have beene accuſed likewiſe as an enemy to Parlia-

ments, no, God forbid, I understood them, and the benefits that come by them, a great deale too well to be so, but I did indeed dislike some misgovernments (as I conceived) of some few, one or two Parliaments; and I did conceive humbly that I might have reason for it, for *corruptio optimi est pessima*: There is no corruption in the world so bad as that which is of the best thing in it selfe, for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted; and this being the highest and greatest Court, over which no other can have any jurisdiction in the Kingdome, if by any way a mis-government (which God forbid) should any waies fall upon it, the Subjects of this Kingdome are left without all manner of remedie, and therefore God preserve them, and blesse them, and direct them, that there may be no mis-conceit, much lesse mis-government amongst them. I will not inlarge my selfe any further, I have done, I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enemies, or others whatsoever they have beene, which have any wayes prosecuted me in this kinde, and I humbly desire to be forgiven first of God, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or no, if he doe but conceive that I have; Lord, doe thou forgive me, and I beg forgivenesse of him, and so I heartily desire you to joyne with me in prayer.

The Bishop of *Canterburies* first prayer on the Scaffold.

O Eternall God and mercifull Father, looke downe upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulnesse of all thy mercies looke upon me, but not till thou hast nailed my sins to the Crosse of Christ; looke upon me, but not till thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ, not till I have hid my selfe in the wounds of Christ, that so the punishment that is due to my sinnes may passe away and

goe

goe over me; and ſince thou art pleaſed to try me to the uttermoſt, I humbly beſeech thee give me now in this great inſtant full patience, proportionable comfort, a heart ready to die for their honour; the Kings happineſſe, and this Churches preſervation; and my zeale to theſe (farre from arrogancy be it ſpoken) is all the ſin, humane frailtie excepted, and all incidents thereunto) which is yet knowne of me in this particular for which I now come to ſuffer, I ſay in this particular of Treaſon; but otherwiſe my ſinns are many and great, Lord pardon them all, and thoſe eſpecially whatſoever they be which have drawne downe this preſent Judgement upon me; and when thou haſt given me ſtrength to beare it, then doe with me as ſeems beſt in thy owne eyes; and cary me through death, that I may looke upon it in what viſage ſoever it ſhall appeare to me, and that there may be a ſtop of this iſſue of blood in this more then miſerable Kingdom. I ſhall deſire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for my ſelfe: O Lord, I beſeech thee, give grace of repentance to all people that have a thirſt for blood, but if they will not repent, then ſcatter their devices ſo, and ſuch as are or ſhall be contrary to the glory of thy great name, the truth and ſincerity of Religion, the eſtabliſhment of the King, and his Poſteritie after him, in their juſt Rights and Priviledges, the honour and conſervation of Parliaments in their ancient and juſt power, the preſervation of this poore Church in her truth, peace, and patrimony, and the ſettlement of this diſtracted and diſtreſſed people under their ancient Lawes and in their native Liberties, and when thou haſt done all this in meere mercy for them, O Lord fill their hearts with thankfulneſſe, and with religious dutifull obedience to thee and thy Commandements all their daies: So Amen Lord Jeſus; and I beſeech thee receive my ſoule to mercy. Our Father which art in Heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdome come.

Thy

Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our treſpaſſes as we forgive them that treſpaſſe againſt us. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evill. Amen.

When he had finiſhed his Prayer, he gave his Paper to Doctor *Sterne*, ſaying, Doctor, I give you this, that you may ſhew it to your Fellow-Chaplains, that they may ſee how I am gone out of the world, and Gods bleſſing and his mercy be upon them.

Then turning to Maſter *Hinde*, he ſaid, Friend, I beſeech you heare me. I cannot ſay I have ſpoken every word as it is in my Paper, but I have gone very neere it, to help my memory as well as I could; but I beſeech you, let me have no wrong done me.

Hinde. Sir, you ſhall not, If I doe any wrong let it fall on my owne head. I pray God have mercy on your ſoule.

Cant. I thanke you: I did not ſpeake with any jealouſie, as if you would doe ſo, but I ſpake it onely as a poore man going out of the world, it is not poſſible for me to keep to the words in my paper, and a phraſe may doe me wrong.

I did thinke here would have beene an empty Scaffold, that I might have had roome to die; I beſeech you let me have an end of this miſery, for I have endured it long.

When roome was made, he ſpake thus: Ile pull off my Doublet, and Gods will be done, I am willing to goe out of the world, no man can be more willing to ſend me out, then I am willing to be gone.

Sir *John Clothworthy.* What ſpeciall Text of Scripture now is comfortable to a man in his departure?

Cant. Cupio diſſolvi & eſſe cum Chriſto.

Sir *John Clothworthy.* That is a good deſire, but there muſt be a foundation for that deſire, as aſſurance.

Cant. No man can expreſſe it, it is to be found within.

Sir

Sir *John Clothworthy*. It is founded upon a word though, and that word would be knowne.

Cant. That word is the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, and that alone.

And turning to the Executioner, he gave him money; ſaying, here honeſt friend, God forgive thee, and doe thy office upon me in mercy.

The Executioner deſired him to give ſome ſigne when he ſhould ſtrike, he anſwered: Yee, I will, but let me fit my ſelfe firſt.

Then kneeling down on his knees, he prayed thus:

The Biſhop of *Canterburies* laſt prayer on the Scaffold.

LOrd, I am coming as faſt as I can, I know I muſt paſſe through the ſhadow of death before I can come to ſee thee, but it is but umbra mortis, *a meere ſhadow of death, a little darkneſſe upon nature, but thou by thy merits and paſſion haſt broke through the jawes of death; ſo Lord receive my ſoule, and have mercy upon me, and bleſſe this Kingdome with peace and withplenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effuſion of Chriſtian blood amongſt them, for Jeſus Chriſt ſake, if it be thy will.*

And when he ſaid, *Lord receive my ſoule*, (which was his ſigne) the Executioner did his office.

The

The ſeverall Speeches of Duke *Hamilton* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capell*, immediately before their execution upon the Scaffold, in the Palace yard *Weſtminſter*, on *Friday* March 9. 1649.

Duke *Hamilton* Earl of *Cambridg*, his Speech on the Scaffold, March, 9. 1649.

UPon Friday the ninth of this inſtant, being the day appointed for the Execution of the ſentence of Death upon the Earl of *Cambridge*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel*, about ten of the Clock that morning L. Col. *Beecher* came with his Order to the ſeveral Priſoners at St *James's*, requiring them to come away; According to which Order they were carried in Sedans, with a Guard, to Sir *Thomas Cottons* houſe at *Weſtminſter*, where they continued about the ſpace of two houres, paſſing away moſt of that time in religious and ſeaſonable conferences with the Miniſters, there preſent with them. After which, being called away to the Scaffold, it was deſired, that before they went they might have the opportunity of commending their Souls to God by prayer, which being readily granted, and the room voided, Mr. *Bolton* was deſired by the Lord of *Holland* to take that pains with them, which was accordingly done with great appearance of ſolemn Affections among them. Prayer being concluded, and hearty Thanks returned by them all to the Miniſters who performed, as alſo to the reſt who were their Aſſiſtants in this ſad time of trouble; the Earl of *Cambridge* prepared firſt to go towards the place of Execution; and after mutual embraces, and ſome ſhort ejaculatory

latory expreſſions, to and for his fellow-ſufferers, he took his leave of them all, and went along with the Officers, attended upon by Dr. *Sibbald*, whom he had choſen for his Comforter in this his ſad condtion.

The Scaffold being erected in the new Palace-yard at *Weſtminſter*, over againſt the great Hal-Gate, in the ſight of the place where the High Court of Juſtice formerly ſate (the Hal-doors being open;) there was his Excellencies Regiment of Horſe commanded by Capt. *Diſher* and ſeveral Companies of Col. *Hewſons* and Col. *Prides* Regiments of Foot drawn up in the place: When the Earl came from *Weſtminſter* Hall neer the Scaffold, he was met by the Underſheriff of *Middleſex*, and a Guard of his men, who took the charge of him from Lieut. Col. *Beecher* and the Partizans that were his Guard; The Sheriff of *London* being alſo, according to command from the High Court of Juſtice, preſent, to ſee the Execution performed.

The Earl of *Cambridg* being come upon the Scaffold, and two of his own ſervants waiting upon him, he firſt ſpake to the Doctor as followeth:

E. *of Camb.* Whether ſhall I pray firſt?

Dr. *Sibbald.* As Your Lordſhip pleaſes.

E. *of Camb.* My Lord of *Denbigh* has ſent to ſpeak with me.

I know not the faſhion, I may ask you Sir; Do thoſe Gentlemen expect I ſhould ſay any thing to them, or no, they cannot hear?

Dr. *Sibbald.* There will be a greater ſilence by and by. It will not be amiſs, if your Lordſhip defer your ſpeaking till you hear from his Lordſhip.

Camb. There is ſomething in it. He was with the Houſe.

Dr. *Sibbald.* I ſuppoſe he would give no interuption to your Lordſhip, at this time, were there not ſomething of concernment in it.

Camb.

Camb. He is my Brother, and has been a very faithful Servant to this State, and he was in great esteem and reputation with them.

He is in the Hall, and sent to speak with a Servant of mine to send something to me,

Sibbald. It will not lengthen the time much if you stay while you have a return from him. My Lord, you should do well to bestow your time now in meditating upon, and imploring of the free mercy of God in Christ for your eternal Salvation, and look upon that ever-streaming Fountain of his precious Blood, that purgeth us from all our sins, even the sins of the deepest dye: the Blood of Iesus Christ washes away all our sins, and that Blood of Christ is powred forth upon all such as by a lively Faith lay hold upon him: God so loved the World that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end, that whosoever beleeved in him should not perish, but have everlasting life; that is now, my Lord, the Rock upon which you must chiefly rest, and labor to fix your self in the free mercy of God through Christ Iesus, whose mercies are from everlasting to everlasting, unto all such as with the eye of Faith behold him; behold Iesus the Author and Finisher of your Salvation, who hath satisfied the Iustice of God by that Al-sufficiency of his Sacrifice, which once for all he offered upon the Cross for the sins of the whole world, so that the sting of death is taken away from all Beleevers, and he hath sanctified it as a passage to everlasting blessedness: It is true, the waters of *Iordan* run somewhat rough and surly, betwixt the Wilderness and our passage into *Canaan*, but let us rest upon the Ark (my Lord) the Ark Christ Iesus, that will carry us through, and above all those waves to that Rock of ages, which no flood nor waves can reach unto, and to him who is yesterday, to day, and the same for ever, against whom the powers and principalities, the gates of Hell, shall never be able

to prevail; lift up and faſten your eyes now upon Chriſt crucified; and labor to behold Ieſus ſtanding at the right hand of his Father, (as the Protomartyr *Stephen*) ready to receive your ſoul, when it ſhall be ſeparated from this frail and mortal body: Alaſs, no man would deſire life, if he knew beforehand what it were to live, it is nothing but ſorrow, vexation and trouble, grief and diſcontent that waits upon every condition, whether publique or private; in every ſtation and calling there are ſeveral miſeries and troubles that are inſeparable from them; therefore what a bleſſed thing it is to have a ſpeedy and comfortable paſſage out of this raging Sea, into the Port of everlaſting Happineſs; We muſt paſs through a Sea, but it is the Sea of Chriſts Blood, in which never ſoul ſuffered ſhipwrack, in which we muſt be blown with winds and tempeſts, but they are the Gales of Gods Spirit upon us, which blow away all contrary winds of diffidence in his mercy.

Here one acquainting the Earl, his ſervant was coming, he anſwered, So Sir; And turning to the under-Sheriffs ſon, ſaid,

Cambridg. Sir, have you your Warrant here?

Sheriff. Yes, my Lord, we have a Command.

Cambridg. A Command.

I take this time, Sir, of ſtaying, in regard of the Earl of *Denbighs* ſending to ſpeak with me, I know not for what it is he deſires me to ſtay.

Dr. *Sibbald.* I preſume Mr. Sheriff will not grudg your Lordſhip a few minutes time, when ſo great a work as this is in hand.

His Lordſhips ſervant being returned, and having delivered his meſſage to the Earl of *Cambridg* privately, he ſaid; So, it is done now: and then turning to the front of the Scaffold, before which (as in all the reſt of the palace) there was a great concourſe of people, he ſaid;

Cambridg.

Cambridg. I think it is truly not very neceſſary for me to ſpeak much, there are many Gentlemen and Souldiers there that ſees me, but my voyce truly is ſo weak, ſo low that they cannot hear me, neither truly was I ever at any time ſo much in love with ſpeaking, or with any thing I had to expreſs, that I took delight in it; yet this being the laſt time that I am to do ſo, by a divine Providence of Almighty God, who hath brought me to this end juſtly for my ſins. I ſhall to you Sir, Mr. Sheriff, declare thus much, as to the matter that I am now to ſuffer for, which is as being a Traytor to the Kingdom of *England*: Truly Sir, it was a Country that I equally loved with my own, I made no difference; I never intended either the generality of its prejudice, or any particular mans in it; what I did was by the Command of the Parliament of the Country where I was born, whoſe Commands I could not diſobey, without running into the ſame hazard there, of that condition that I am now in: The ends, Sir, of that Engagement is publique, they are in Print, and ſo I ſhall not need to ſpecifie them.

Dr. *Sibbald.* The Sun perhaps will be too much in your Lordſhips face, as you ſpeak.

Cambridg. No Sir, it will not burn it. I hope I ſhall ſee a brighter Sun then this, Sir, very ſpeedily.

Dr. *Sibbald.* The Sun of Righteouſneſs my Lord.

Cambridg. (But to that which I was ſaying Sir.) It pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe that Army under my Command, as it was ruined; and I, as their General, clothed with a Commiſſion, ſtand here, now ready to dye; I ſhall not trouble you with repeating of my Plea, what I ſaid in my own Defence at the Court of JUSTICE, my ſelf being ſatisfied with the commands that is laid upon me, and they ſatisfied with the Juſtneſſe of their procedure; according to the Laws of this Land. God is juſt, and whoſoever I ſhall not

ſay

ſay any thing as to the matter of the ſentence, but that I do willingly ſubmit to his Divine Providence, and acknowledg that very many ways I deſerve even a worldly puniſhment, as well as hereafter; for we are all ſinful, Sir, and I a great one: yet for my comfort, I know there is a God in heaven that is exceeding merciful; I know my Redeemer ſits at his Right Hand, and am confident, (clapping his hand to his Breaſt) is Mediating for me at this inſtant; I am hopeful through his free grace, and all-ſufficient merits, to be pardoned of my ſins, and to be received into his mercy; upon that I rely, truſting to nothing but the Free Grace of God through Jeſus Chriſt, I have not been tainted with my Religion, I thank God for it, ſince my infancy, it hath been ſuch as hath been profeſt in the Land, and eſtabliſhed; and now 'tis not this Religion, or that Religion, or this or that Fancy of men that is to be built upon; 'tis but one that's right, one that's ſure, and that comes from God. Sir, and in the free grace of our Saviour. Sir, there is truly ſomthing that (*had I thought my Speech would have been thus taken) I would have digeſted it into ſome better method then now I can, and ſhall deſire theſe Gentlemen that do write it, that they will not wrong me in it, and that it may not in this manner be publiſhed to my diſadvantage, for truly I did not intend to have ſpoken thus when *I* came here.

* *Obſerving the Writers.*

There is, firſt, terrible aſperſions has been laid upon my ſelf; truly ſuch as I thank God, I am very free from; as if my actions and intentions had not been ſuch as they were pretended for; but that notwithſtanding what I pretended it was for the King, there was nothing leſs intended then to ſerve him in it. I was bred with him for many years, I was his domeſtique ſervant, and there was nothing declar'd by the Parliament, that was not really intended by me; and truly in it I ventured my life one way, and now I loſe it another way; and

hat was one of the ends, as to the King; I ſpeak only of that; becauſe the reſt has many particulars; and to clear my ſelf from ſo horrid an aſperſion as is laid upon me: neither was there any other deſigne known to me by the incoming of the Army, then what is really in the Declaration publiſhed. His perſon, I do profeſs, I had reaſon to love, as he was my King, and as he had been my Maſter: it has pleaſed God now to diſpoſe of him, ſo as it cannot be thought flattery to have ſaid this; or any end in me for the ſaying of it, but to free my ſelf from that calumnie which lay upon me: I cannot gain by it; yet Truth is that which we ſhall gain by for ever.

There hath been much ſpoken Sir, of an invitation into this Kingdom: it's mentioned in that *Declaration*; and truly to that I did and do remit my ſelf: and I have been very much laboured for diſcoveries of theſe Inviters. 'Tis no time to diſſemble. How willing I was to have ſerved this Nation in any thing that was in my power, is known to very many honeſt, pious, and religious men; and how ready I would have been to have done what I could to have ſerved them, if it had pleaſed them to have preſerved my life, in whoſe hands there was a power: They have not thought it fit, and ſo I am become unuſeful in that which willingly I would have done. As I ſaid at firſt, (Sir) ſo I ſay now concerning that point; I wiſh the Kingdoms happineſs, I wiſh its peace; and truly Sir, I wiſh that this blood of mine may be the laſt that is drawn; and how-ſoever I may perhaps have ſome reluctancie with my ſelf, as to the matter of my fact, for my ſuffering, for my fact, yet I freely forgive all; Sir, I carry no rancour along with me to my grave; His Will be done that has created both Heaven and Earth, and me a poor miſerable ſinful creature now ſpeaking before him. For me to ſpeak (Sir) to you of State buſineſs, and the Government of the Kingdom, or my

my opinion in that, or for any thing in that nature, Truly it is to no end, it contributes no hing; My own inclination hath been to peace, from the beginning; and it is known to many, that I never was an ill instrument betwixt the King and his people; I never acted to the prejudice of the Parliament; I bore no Arms, I medled not with it; I was not wanting by my prayers to God Almighty for the happiness of the King; and truly I shall pray still, that God may so direct him, as that may be done which shall tend to his glory, and the peace and happiness of the Kingdom.

I have not much more to say that I remember of; I think I have spoken of my Religion.

D. *Sibbald, Your Lordship has not so fully said it.*

Camb. Truly I do believe I did say something.

D *Sibbald, I know you did, 'tis pleasing to hear it from your Lordship again.*

Camb. Truly Sir, for the profession of my Religion, that which I said was the established Religion, and that which I have practised in my own Kingdom where I was born and bred; my Tenents they need not to be expreſt, they are known to all, and I am not of a rigid opinion; many godly men there is that may have scruples, which do not concern me at all at no time; they may differ in Opinion, and now more then at any time; differing in Opinion does not move me (not any mans) my own is clear. Sir, The Lord forgive me my sins, and I forgive freely all those that even I might (as a worldly man) have the greatest animosity against; We are bidden to forgive; Sir, 'Tis a command laid upon us (and there mentioned,) *Forgive us our Trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.*

D. *Sibbald, 'Tis our Saviours rule,* Love your Enemies, Bless them that Curse you, pray for them that persecute you, Do good to them that Despightfully use you.

Camb. Sir, it is high time for me to make an end of this; and truly I remember no more that I have to say, but to pray to God Almighty a few words, and then I have done.

Then kneeling down, with D. *Sibbald*, he prayed thus;

MOst Blessed Lord, I thy poor and most unworthy servant come unto thee, presuming in thy infinite Mercy, and the Merits of Jesus Christ, who sits upon the Throne; I come flying from that of Justice, to that of Mercy, and Tenderness, for his Sake which shed his Blood for sinners, that he would take Compassion upon me, that he will look upon me as one that graciously hears me, that he would look upon me as one that hath Redeemed me; that he would look upon me as one that hath shed his blood for me; that he would look upon me as one who now calls and hopes to be saved by his All sufficient merits. For his sake (Glorious God) have Compassion upon me in the Freeness of thy infinite Mercy, that when this sinful soul of mine shall depart out of this frail Carcass of Clay, I may be carried into thy Everlasting Glory; O Lord, by thy Free Grace, and out of thy infinite mercy hear me, and look down, and have Compassion upon me; and thou Lord Jesus, thou my Lord, and thou my God, and thou my Redeemer, hear me, take pity upon me, take pity upon me, gracious God, and so deal with my soul, that by thy precious merits I may attain to thy joy and bliss; O Lord, remember me, so miserable and sinful a creature; now thou, O Lord, thou (O Lord) that dyed for me, receive me, and receive me into thy own bound of mercy; O Lord, I trust in thee, suffer me not now to be confounded; Satan has had too long possession of this soul, O let him not now prevail against it; but let me (O Lord) from henceforth dwell with thee for evermore.

Now Lord, it is thy time to hear me, hear me gracious Jesus,

Jesus, even for thy own Goodness, Mercy, and Truth; O Glorious God, O Blessed Father, O Holy Redeemer, O Gracious Comforter, O Holy and Blessed Trinity, I do render up my soul into thy hands, and commit it with the Mediation of my Redeemer, Praising thee for all thy Dispensations that it has pleased thee to confer upon me, and even for this, Praise, and Honour, and Thanks, from this time forth, for evermore.

D. *Sibbald, My Lord, I trust you now behold with the Eye of Faith, the Son of Righteousness shining upon your soul, and will cheerfully submit unto him who hath Redeemed us through his Blood, even the Blood of Jesus Christ; that you may appear at the Tribunal of God, clothed with the White Robe of his Unspotted Righteousness; the Lord grant that with the Eye of Faith you may now see the Heavens opened, and Jesus Christ standing at the Right Hand of God, ready to receive you into his Arms of Mercy.*

Camb. Then the Earl turning to the Executioner, said, Shall I put on another Cap? Must this Hair be turn'd up from my Neck? There are three of my servants to give satisfaction.

D. *Sibbald, My Lord. I hope you are able to give all that are about you satisfaction, you are assured that God is reconciled unto you through the Blood of Christ Jesus, and the Spirit of the Lord witnesseth to you, that Christ is become now a Jesus unto you. My Lord, fasten the Eyes of your Faith upon Jesus, the Author and Finisher of your Salvation; who himself was brought to a violent death for the Redemption of Mankinde; he chearfully submitted to his Fathers good pleasure in it, and for us;* Blessed and holy is he that hath part *(my Lord)* in the first resurrection; *that is, in the first Riser, Jesus Christ, who is both the Resurrection, and the Life;* over him, the second death shall have no power; *'Tis the unspeakable*

joy of a Believer, that at the hour of death his ſoul hath an immediate paſſage from this earthly Tabernacle to that Region of endleſs glory, yea to the preſence of God himſelf, in whoſe preſence is fulneſs of joy, and at whoſe right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

Then the E. of *Cambridge* turning to the Executioner, ſaid, which way is it that you would have me lie? Sir.

Execut. The Executioner pointing to the front of the Scaffold, the Earl replyed, What, my Head this way? Then the Under-Sheriffs ſon ſaid, my Lord, the Order is, that you ſhould lay your head towards the High Court of Juſtice.

The E. of *Cambridge* after a little diſcourſe in private with ſome of his ſervants, kneeled down on the ſide of the Scaffold, and prayed a while to himſelf.

When he had finiſht his prayer, D. *Sibbald* ſpake to him thus;

My Lord, *I humbly beſeech God that you may now with a holy and Chriſtian courage give up your ſoul to the hand of your faithful Creator and gracious Redeemer; and not be diſmayed with any ſad apprehenſion of the terrors of this death; and what a bleſſed and glorious exchange you ſhall make within a very few minutes.*

Then with a cheerful and ſmiling countenance, the Earl embracing the Doctor in his Arms, ſaid.

Camb. Truly Sir, *I* do take you in mine Arms, and truly *I* bleſs God for it, *I* do not fear, *I* have an aſſurance that is grounded here (laying his hand upon his heart) Now that gives me more true joy then ever *I* had, *I* paſs out of a miſerable world to go into an eternal and glorious Kingdom; and Sir, though *I* have been a moſt ſinful creature, yet Gods mercy *I* know is infinite, and *I* bleſs my God for it, *I* go with ſo clear a Conſcience, that *I* know not the man that *I* have perſonally injured.

D. *Sibbald* My Lord, *it is a marvellous great ſatisfaction that at this laſt hour you can ſay ſo, I beſeech the Lord for*

for his eternal mercy ſtrengthen your Faith, that in the very moment of your Diſſolution, you may ſee the Arms of the Lord Jeſus ſtretched out ready to receive your ſoul.

Then the Earl of Cambridge embracing thoſe his Servants which were there preſent, ſaid to each of them, You have been very faithful to me, and the Lord bleſs you.

Camb. Then turning to the Executioner, ſaid, I ſhall ſay a very ſhort Prayer to my God, while I lye down there; and when I ſtretch out my hand (my right hand) then Sir, do your Duty; and I do freely forgive you, and ſo I do all the world.

D. *Sibbald. The Lord in great mercy go along with You, and bring You to the poſſeſſion of everlaſting life, ſtrengthning Your Faith in Jeſus Chriſt. This is a paſſage, My Lord, a ſhort paſſage unto eternal glory. I hope, through the free grace of Your gracious God, You are now able to ſay,* O Death, where is thy ſting? O Grave, where is thy Victory? *and to make this comfortable anſwer,* Bleſſed be God, bleſſed be God, who hath given me an aſſurance of victory through Chriſt Jeſus.

Then the Earl of Cambridge ſaid to the Executioner, Muſt I lye all along?

Execut. Yes, and't pleaſe your Lordſhip.

Camb. When I ſtretch out my hands——— but I will fit my head, firſt tell me if I be right, and how you would have me lie.

Ex. Your ſhirt muſt be pinn'd back, for it lies too high upon your ſhoulders. (*which was done accordingly.*)

D. *Sibbald.* My Lord, *Now, now lift up Your eyes unto Jeſus Chriſt, and caſt Your ſelf now into the everlaſting Arms of Your gracious Redeemer.*

Then the Earl having laid his head over the Block, ſaid, Is this right?

D. *Sibbald. Jeſus the Son of David have mercy upon You.*

Execut.

Execut. Lie a little lower Sir.

Camb. Well, stay then till *I* give you the signe.

And so having layn a short space devoutly praying to himself, he stretched out his right hand, whereupon the Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body, which was received by two of his servants then kneeling by him, into a Crimson Taffaty Scarf, and that with the body immediately put into a Coffin brought upon the Scaffold for that purpose, and from thence conveyed to the house that was Sir *John Hamiltons* at the Mews, where it now remains.

This execution being done, the Sheriffs Guard went immediately to meet the Earl of *Holland*, which they did in the mid-way between the Scaffold and Westminster-Hall, and the Under-Sheriffs son having received him into his charge, conducted him to the Scaffold, he taking M. *Bolton* all the way in his hand, passed all along to the Scaffold discoursing together; upon which being come, observing his voice would not reach to the people, in regard the Guard compassed the Scaffold, he said;

Henry *Lord* Rich, *Earl of* Holland, *His Speech on the Scaffold, immediately before his Death*, March 9. 1649.

Holland.

IT is to no purpose (*I* think,) to speak any thing here. Which way must *I* speak? And then being directed to the front of the Scaffold, he (leaning over the Rayls) said; *I* think it is fit to say something, since God hath called me to this place. The first thing which *I* must profess, is, what concerns my Religion, and my Breeding, which hath been in a good Family, that hath ever been faithful to

to the true Protestant Religion, in the which *I* have been bred, in the which *I* have lived, and in the which by Gods grace and mercy *I* shall dy. *I* have not lived according to that Education *I* had in that Family where *I* was born and bred. *I* hope God will forgive me my sins, since *I* conceive it is very much his pleasure to bring me to this place, for the sins that *I* have committed. The cause that hath brought me hither, *I* believe by many hath been much mistaken. They have conceived that *I* have had ill Designs to the State, and to the Kingdom; Truly *I* look upon it as a Judgement, and a just Judgement of God; not but *I* have offended so much the State, and the Kingdom, and the Parliament, as that *I* have had an extream vanity in serving them very extraordinarily. For those Actions that *I* have done, *I* think it is known they have been ever very faithful to the Publike, and very particularly to Parliaments. My Affections have been ever expresst truly and clearly to them. The dispositions of Affairs now have put things in another posture then they were when *I* was engaged with the Parliament. *I* have never gone off from those Principles that ever *I* have professed; *I* have lived in them, and by Gods grace will dy in them There may be Alterations and Changes that may carry them further then *I* thought reasonable; and truly there *I* left them: But there hath been nothing that *I* have said, or done, or professed, either by Covenant or Declaration, which hath not been very constant, and very clear, upon the principles that *I* ever have gone upon; which was, to serve the King, the Parliament, Religion, (*I* should have said in the first place) the Commonwealth, and to seek the Peace of the Kingdom; That made me think it no improper time, being prest out by Accidents and Circumstances, to seek the Peace of the Kingdom, which *I* thought was proper, since there was somthing then in Agitation, be-

agreed on for ſending Propoſitions to the King; that was the furtheſt aym that *I* had, and truly beyond that *I* had no intention, none at all. And God be praiſed, although my blood comes to be ſhed here, there was *I* think ſcarce a drop of blood ſhed in that Action that *I* was engaged in, For the preſent Affairs as they are, *I* cannot tell how to judge of them; and truly they are in ſuch a condition, as (*I* conceive) no body can make a judgement of them; and therefore *I* muſt make uſe of Prayers, rather then of my Opinion; which are, That God would bleſs this Kingdom, this Nation, this State; that he would ſettle it in a way agreeable to what this Kingdom hath been happily governed under; by a King, by the Lords, by the Commons; a Government that *I* conceive it hath flouriſhed much under, and *I* pray God the change of it bring not rather a prejudice, a diſorder, and a confuſion, then the contrary. *I* look upon the Poſterity of the King, and truly my Conſcience directs me to it, to deſire, that if God be pleaſed, that theſe People may look upon them with that Affection that they owe, that they may be called in again, and they may be, not through blood, nor through diſorder, admitted again into that power, and to that glory, that God in their Birth intended to them. *I* ſhall pray with all my ſoul for the happineſs of this State, of this Nation, that the blood which is here ſpilt, may even be the laſt that may fall among us; and truly *I* ſhould lay down my life with as much cheerfulneſs as ever perſon did, if *I* conceived that there would be no more blood follow us; for a State, or Affairs that are built upon blood, is a foundation for the moſt part that doth not proſper.

After the bleſſing that I give to the Nation, to the Kingdom, and truly to the Parliament, *I* do wiſh with all my heart, happineſs, and a bleſſing to all thoſe that have been Authors in this buſineſs; and truly, that have been Authors in this very work that bringeth us hither: *I* do not only

only forgive them, but *I* pray heartily and really for them; as God will forgive my ſins, ſo *I* deſire God may forgive them.

I have a particular relation, as I am Chancellour of *Cambridge*, and truly I muſt here, ſince it is the laſt of my prayers, pray to God that that Univerſity may go on in that happy way which it is in, that God may make it a Nurſery to plant thoſe perſons that may be diſtributed to the Kingdom, that the ſouls of the people may receive a great benefit, and a great advantage by them, and (I hope) God will reward them for their kindneſs, and their affections that I have found from them. *I have ſaid what Religion I have been bred in, what Relig on I have been bred in, what Religion I have practiſed, I began with it, and I muſt end with it. I told you that my actions and my life have not been agreeable to my Breeding. I have told you likewiſe that the Family where I was bred, hath been an exemplary Family (I may ſay ſo I hope, without vanity) of much affection to Religion, and of much faithfulneſs to this Kingdom, and to this State. I have indeavoured to do thoſe actions that became an honeſt man, and a good Engliſhman, and which became a good Chriſtian. I have been willing to oblige thoſe that have been in trouble, thoſe that have been in perſecution, and truly I find a great reward of it; for I have found their prayers, and their kindneſs now in this diſtreſs, & in this condition, and I think it a great reward, I pray God reward them for it.

* *Looking towards M* Bolton,

I am a great ſinner, and I hope God will be pleaſed to hear my prayers, to give me faith to truſt in him, that as he hath called me to death at this place, he will make it but a paſſage to an eternal life through Jeſus Chriſt, which *I* truſt to, which *I* rely upon, and which *I* expect by the mercy of God. And ſo *I* pray God bleſs you all, and ſend that you may ſee this to be the laſt execution, and the laſt blood that is likely to be ſpilt among you.

And

And then turning to the ſide-rayl, he prayed for a good ſpace of time; after which M. Bolton ſaid;

My Lord, *Now look upon him whom you have truſted. My Lord, I hope that here is your laſt prayer, there will no more prayers remain but praiſes: And I hope that after this day is over, there will a day begin that ſhall never have end; And I look upon this (my Lord) the morning of it, the morning of that day. My Lord, You know where your fulneſs lies, where your riches lie, where is your only rock to anchor on. You know there is fulneſs in Chriſt; If the Lord comes not in with fulneſs of Comfort to You, yet reſolve to wait upon him while You live, and to truſt in him when You die; and then ſay, I will die here, I will periſh at thy feet, I will be found dead at the feet of Jeſus Chriſt. Certainly, he that came to ſeek and ſave loſt ſinners, will not reject loſt ſinners when they come to ſeek him; He that entreateth us to come, will not ſlight us when we come to entreat him. My Lord, there is enough there, and fix your heart there, and fix Your Eies there, that Eie of Faith, and that Eie of Hope; Exerciſe theſe Graces now, there will be no exerciſe hereafter. As Your Lordſhip ſaid, Here take an end of Faith, and take an end of Hope, and take a Farewel of Repentance; and all theſe, and welcome God, and welcom Chriſt, and welcom Glory, and welcom Happineſs to all Eternity; and ſo it will be a happy paſſage then, if it be a paſſage here from miſery to happineſs. And though it be but a ſad way, yet if it will bring You into the preſence of joy, although it be a valley of tears, although it be a ſhadow of death, yet if God will pleaſe to bring You, and make it a paſſage to that happineſs, welcome Lord. And I doubt not but God will give You a heart to taſte ſome ſweetneſs and love in this bitter Potion, and to ſee ſomthing of Mercy and Goodneſs to You, and ſhew You ſome ſigne and token of good, ſo that Your ſoul may ſee that which we have had already experience*

rience of (bleſſed be God for it) many Experiences, many Expreſſions, not only in words, but tears; God hath not left us without much comfort, nor evidence; and I hope (my Lord) You that have given ſo many Evidences to us, I hope You want none Your ſelf; but that the Lord will be pleaſed to ſupport You, and bear up Your Spirit, and if there want evidence, there is reliance; my ſecurity lies not in my knowing that I ſhall come to Heaven, and come to Glory but in my reſting and relying upon him: When the Anchor of Faith is thrown out, there may be ſhakings and toſſings, but there is ſafety; nothing ſhall interrupt ſafety, although ſomething may interrupt ſecurity; my ſafety is ſure although I apprehend it not: and what if I go to God in the dark? What if I come to him, as Nicodemus did, ſtaggering in the night? It is a night of trouble, a night of darkneſs, though I come trembling and ſtaggering in this night, yet I ſhall be ſure to find comfort and fixedneſs in him. And the Lord of heaven be the ſtrength, ſtay and the ſupport of Your ſoul, and the Lord furniſh You with all thoſe graces which may carry You into the boſome of the Lord Jeſus, that when You expire this life, You may be able to expire it into him, in whom You may begin to live to all Eternity; and that is my humble Prayer.

Holland. M. *Bolton*, God hath given me long time in this world; he hath carried me through many great accidents of Fortune; he hath at laſt brought me down into a condition, where I find my ſelf brought to an end, for a diſ-affection to this State, to this Parliament, that (as I ſaid before) I did believe no body in the world more unlikely to have expected to ſuffer for that Cauſe; I look upon it as a great judgement of God for my ſins. And truly Sir, ſince that the death is violent, I am the leſs troubled with it, becauſe of thoſe violent deaths that I have ſeen before; principally my Saviour that hath ſhewed us the way, how and in what manner he hath done it, and for what cauſe, I am the more comforted,

ſorted, I am the more rejoyced. It is not long ſince the King my Maſter paſſed in the ſame manner; and truly I hope that his purpoſes and intentions were ſuch, as a man may not be aſhamed, nor only to follow him in the way that was taken with him, but likewiſe not aſhamed of his purpoſes, if God had given him life. I have often diſputed with him concerning many things of this kind, and I conceive his ſufferings, and his better knowledge, and better underſtanding (if God had ſpared him life) might have made him a Prince very happy towards himſelf, and very happy towards this Kingdom. I have ſeen and known that thoſe bleſſed ſouls in heaven have paſſed thither by the gate of ſorrow, and many by the gate of violence; and ſince it is Gods pleaſure to diſpoſe me this way, I ſubmit my ſoul to him, with all comfort, and with all hope, that he hath made this my end, and this my concluſion, that though I be low in death, yet nevertheleſs this lowneſs ſhall raiſe me to the higheſt glory for ever.

Truly, I have not ſaid much in publike to the people concerning the particular Actions that I conceive I have done by my counſels in this Kingdom; I conceive they are well known; it were ſomthing of vanity (me thinks) to take notice of them here: He rather dy with them, with the comfort of them in my own boſom; and that I never intended in this action, or any action that ever I did in my life, either malice, or blood-ſhed, or prejudice to any creature that lives. For that which concerns my Religion, I made my profeſſion before of it, how I was bred, and in what manner I was bred, in a Family that was looked upon to be no little notorious in oppoſition to ſome liberties they conceived then to be taken; and truly, there was ſome mark upon me, as if I had ſome taint of it, even throughout my whole ways that I have taken: every body knows what my affections have been to many that have ſuffered, to many that have been

in troubles in this Kingdom, I endeavoured to relieve them, I endeavoured to oblige them, I thought I was tyed so by my Conscience, I thought it by my charity, and truly very much by my Breeding; God hath now brought me to the last instant of my time, all that I can say, and all that I can adhere unto is this; That as I am a great sinner, so I have a great Saviour; that as he hath given me here a fortune to come publiquely in a shew of shame in the way of this suffering (truly I understand it not to be so) I understand it to be a glory; a glory, when I consider who hath gone before me, and a glory when I consider I had no end in it, but what I conceive to be the service of God, the King, and the Kingdome; and therefore my Heart is not charged much with any thing in that particular, since I conceive God will accept of the intention, whatsoever the Action seems to be. I am going to dye, and the Lord receive my Soul; I have no relyance but upon Christ, for my self I do acknowledge that I am the unworthyest of sinners; my life hath been a vanity, and a continued sin, and God may justly bring me to this end, for the sins I have committed against him, and were there nothing else, but the iniquities that I have committed in the Way of my Life, I looke upon this as a great Justice of God, to bring me to this Suffering, and to bring me to this Punishment; And those Hands that have been most Active in it, if any such there hath been; I pray God forgive them; I pray God that there may not be many such Trophies of their Victories, but that this may be (as I said before) the last Shew, that this People shall see, of the Blood of Persons of Condition, of Persons of Honour: I might say something of the Way of our Tryall, which certainely hath been

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as extraordinary, as any thing I think hath ever been seen in this Kingdom; but because that I would not seem as if I made some complaint, I will not so much as mention it, because no body shall believe *I* repine at their Actions, that *I* repine at my Fortune; it is the will of God, it is the hand of God under whom *I* fall; *I* take it entirely from him, *I* submit my self to him, *I* shall desire to roul my self into the Arms of my blessed Saviour; and when *I* come to this * place, when *I* bow down my self there, *I* hope God will raise me up; and when *I* bid farewel, as *I* must now to Hope and to Faith, that love will abide; *I* know nothing to accompany the soul out of this World, but Love; and *I* hope that Love will bring me to the Fountain of Glory in Heaven, through the Arms, Mediation, and the Mercy of my Saviour *Jesus Christ*, in whom *I* Believe, O Lord help my Unbelief.

* *Pointing to the Block.*

Hodges. The Lord make over unto You the righteousness of his own Son, it is that Treasurie that he hath bestowed upon You; and the Lord shew You the Light of his Countenance, and fill You full with his joy and kindness. O my dear Lord, the Lord of Heaven and Earth be with You, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth bring You to the Safety.

Holland. I shall make as much hast as *I* can to come to that glory, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth take my soul; *I* look upon my self entirely in Him, and hope to find mercy through Him, *I* expect it, and through that Fountain that is opened for Sin and for Uncleanness my soul must receive it; for did *I* rest in any thing else, *I* have nothing but sin and corruption in me; *I* have nothing but that, which in stead of being carried up into the Arms of God, and of Glory, *I* have nothing but may throw me down into Hell.

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Bolton. *But my Lord, when you are cloathed with the righteouſneſſe of another, you will appear glorious, though now ſinfull in your ſelf: The Apoſtle ſaith,* I deſire not to be found in my own righteouſneſſe, *and when you are cloathed with another, the Lord will owne you, and I ſhall ſay but thus much: Doubt not that ever God will deny ſalvation to ſinners, that come to him, when the end of all his death and ſufferings was the ſalvation of ſinners, when as I ſay the whole end, and the whole deſigne, and the great work, that God had to do in the world, by the death of Chriſt, wherein he laid out all his councells and infinite wiſdome, and mercy, and goodneſſe, beyond which there was a* Non ultra, *in Gods thoughts, when this was the great deſigne, and great end, the ſalvation of ſinners, that poor ſoules ſhould come over to him and live; certainly when ſinners come he will not reject, he will not refuſe. And my Lord, do but think of this, the greateſt work that ever was done in the world, was the blood of Chriſt that was ſhed, never any thing like it: and this blood of Chriſt that was ſhed, never any thing like it: And this blood of Chriſt that was ſhed, was ſhed for them that come, if not for them, for none, it was in vaine elſe: you ſee the Devills they are out of capacity of good by it, the Angels they have no need of it, wicked men will not come, and there are but a few that come over, but a few that come over, and ſhould be denie them, there were no end nor fruit of the blood and ſufferings of the Lord Jeſus: and had your Lordſhip been with Chriſt in that bloudy agony, when he was in that bloudy ſweat, ſweating drops of bloud, if you had asked him, Lord, what art thou now a doing, art thou not now reconciling an angry God and me together, art thou not pacifying the wrath of God? art thou not interpoſing thy ſelf between the juſtice of God and my ſoule? Would he not have ſaid, yea? and ſure-*

ly then he will not deny it now. My Lord! His paſſions are over, his compaſſions ſtill remain, and the larger and greater, becauſe he is gone up into a higher place that he may throw down more abundance of his mercy and grace upon you; and my Lord, think of that infinite love, that abundance of riches in Chriſt: I am loſt, I am empty, I have nothing, I am poore, I am ſinfull: be it ſo, as bad as God will make me, and as vile as I poſſibly can conceive my ſelfe, I am willing to be: but when I have ſaid all, the more I advance that riches, and honor that grace of God. And why ſhould I doubt when by this he puts me into a capacity, into a diſpoſition for him to ſhew me mercy, that by this I may the better advance the riches of his grace, and ſay grace, grace, to the Lord, to all eternity, that God ſhould owne ſuch a Creature, that deſerves nothing; and the leſſe I deſerve, the more conſpicuous is his grace: and this is certaine, the riches of his grace he throweth amongſt men, that the glory of his grace might be given to himſelf, If we can give him but the glory of his grace, we ſhall never doubt to partake of the riches of it, and that fulneſſe, My Lord, that fulneſſe bee your comfort, that fulneſſe of mercy, that fulneſſe of love, that fulneſſe of righteouſneſſe and power be now your riches, and your only ſtay, and the Lord interpoſe himſelfe between God and you, as your Faith hath indeavoured to interpoſe him between God and your ſoule; ſo I doubt not but there he ſtands (my Lord) to plead for you, and when you are not able to do any thing your ſelfe, yet lie downe at the feet of him that is a mercifull Saviour, and knowes what you would deſire, and wait upon him while you live, truſt in him when you die, there is riches enough and mercy enough, if be open not, yet die at his doore, ſay there I'le die, there is mercy enough.

Holland. And here is the place where I lie down before

fore him, from whence I hope he will raiſe me to an eternall Glory through my Saviour, upon whom I rely, from whom only I can expect mercy: into his armes I commend my ſpirit, into his bleeding armes, that when I leave this bleeding body that muſt lie upon this place, he will receive that ſoule that ariſeth out of it, and receive it into his eternall mercy, through the merits, through the worthineſs, through the mediation of Chriſt that hath purchaſed it with his own moſt pretious blood.

Bolton. *My Lord, Though you conclude here, I hope you begin above, and though you put an end here. I hope there will never be an end of the mercy and goodneſſe of God: and if this be the morning of Eternity, if this be the riſe of Glory, if God pleaſeth to throw you down here, to raiſe you up for ever: ſay, Welcome Lord! welcome that death that ſhall make way for life, and welcome any condition that ſhall throw me down here, to bring me into the poſſeſſion of Jeſus Chriſt.*

Hodges. *My Lord, if you have made a Deed of Gift of your ſelfe to Jeſus Chriſt, to be found only in him; I am confident you ſhall ſtand at the day of Chriſt, my dear Lord, we ſhall meet in happineſſe.*

Holland. Chriſt Jeſus receive my ſoule, my ſoule hungers and thirſts after him, clouds are gathering, and I truſt in God through all my heavineſſe, and I hope through all impediments, he will ſettle my intereſt in him, and throw off all the claime that Sathan can make unto it, and that he will carry my ſoule in deſpight of all the calumnies, and all that the Devill, and Satan can invent, will carry it into eternall mercy, there to receive the bleſſednesſe of his preſence to all Eternity.

Hodges. *My Lords, it was his own by Creation, it is his own now by Redemption, and purchaſe; and it is likewiſe his own by reſignation: O my Lord, look therefore up to the Lamb of God, that ſits at the right hand*

of God, to take away the ſinnes of the World, O that Lamb of God!

Holland. That Lamb of God, into his hands I commit my ſoule: and that Lamb of God that ſits upon the Throne to Judge thoſe 24 that fall down before him, I hope he will be pleaſed to look downward, and judge me with mercy that fall downe before him, and that adore him, that onely truſts upon his Mercy, for his compaſſion; and that as he hath purchaſed me, he would lay his claime unto me now, and receive me.

Bolton: *My Lord, think of this,* there is no condemnation to them who are in Chriſt, who is it that can condemn, it is Chriſt that juſtifies; *and therefore look now upon this, (My Lord,) upon this Chriſt, upon this Chriſt that juſtifies: Hell, Death, Sinne, Sathan, nothing ſhall be able to condemne,* it is Chriſt that juſtifies you.

Holland, Indeed if Chriſt juſtify, no body can condemne, and I truſt in God, in his juſtification, though there is confuſion here without us, and though there are wonders and ſtaring that now diſquiet, yet I truſt that I ſhall be carried into that mercy, that God will receive my ſoule.

Bolton. *I doubt not my Lord but as you are a Spectacle of pitty here, ſo you are an object of Gods mercy above.*

Holland, Then the Earle of *Holland*, looking, over among the people, pointing to a Souldier, ſaid, This honeſt man took me priſoner, you little thought I ſhould have beene brought to this, when I delivered my ſelfe to you upon conditions: and eſpying Captaine *Watſon* on horſe-back putting off his hat ſaid to him God be with you Sir, God reward you Sir.

Bolton, *My Lord, throw your ſelfe into the armes of mercy, and ſay, there I will Anchor, and there I will lie, he is a Saviour for us in all conditions, whither*

ſhould

ſhould we goe, he hath the words of eternall life: and upon him do you reſt, waite while you live, and even truſt in Death.

Holland. Here muſt now be my Anchor, a great Storm makes me finde my anchor; and but in ſtorms nobody truſts to his anchor, and therefore I muſt truſt upon my anchor (*Upon that God,* ſaid Mr. *Bolton, upon whom your Anchor truſts*) yea, God, I hope, will anchor my Soul faſt upon Chriſt Jeſus: and if I dye not with that clearenes and that heartines that you ſpeak of, truly, I will truſt in God, though he kill me, I will relie upon him, and in the Mercy of my Saviour.

Bolton, *There is mercy enough, my Lord, and to ſpare, you ſhall not need to doubt; they ſhall never go begging to another door (my Lord) that come to him. Then the Earl of* Holland *ſpeaking to Mr.* Hodges, *ſaid, I pray God reward you for all your kindeneſs; and pray as you have done, inſtruct my Family, that they may ſerve God with faithfulneſs, with holineſs, with more diligence, then truly I have been carefull to preſs them unto: You have the charge of the ſame place, you may do much for them, and I recommend them to your kindeneſs, and the goodneſs of your Conſcience.*

Dr. Sibald *ſtanding by upon the Scaffold, in his paſſage to Col.* Beecher, *expreſſed himſelf thus to his Lordſhip.*

Dr. Sibald, *The Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and you ſhall be ſafe.*

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* embraced Lieut: Col. *Beecher*, and took his leave of him: After which, he came to Mr. *Bolton*, and having embraced him, and returned him many thanks for his great pains and affections to his ſoul, deſiring God to reward him, and return his love into his boſom. Mr. *Bolton* ſaid to him, The Lord God ſupport you, and be ſeen in this great

extremity; The Lord reveal and diſcover himſelf to you; and make your death the paſſage unto eternal life———.

Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner, ſaid here, my freind, ſet my Clothes and my body alone, there is Ten pounds for thee, that is better then my Clothes, I am ſure of it.

Executioner. *Will your Lordſhip pleaſe to give me a ſign when I ſhall ſtrike? And then his Lordſhip ſaid, you have room enough here, have you not? and the Executioner ſaid, Yes.*

Bolton. *The Lord be your ſtrength, there is riches in him; The Lord of Heaven impart himſelf to you, he is able to ſave to the uttermoſt: We cannot fall ſo low, as to fall below the everlaſting armes of God; and therefore the Lord be a ſupport and ſtay to you in your low condition, that he will be pleaſed to make this an advantage to that Life and glory that will make amends for all.*

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner, ſaid, Freind, do you hear me, if you take up my head, do not take off my Cap. Then turning to his Servants, he ſaid to one, Fare you well, thou art an honeſt fellow; and to another, God be with thee, thou art an honeſt man: and then ſaid, Stay, I will kneel down, and ask God forgiveneſs; and then prayed for a pretty ſpace, with ſeeming earneſtneſs.

Bolton. *The Lord grant you may finde life in death.*

Holland. Which is the way of lying? (which they ſhewed him) And then going to the front of the Scaffold, he ſaid to the people, God bleſs you all, and God deliver you from any ſuch accident as may bring you to any ſuch death as is violent, either by War, or by theſe accidents, but that there may be Peace among you, and you may finde that theſe accidents that have happned to us, may be the laſt that may happen in this Kingdom;

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it is that I deſire, it is that I beg of God, next the ſaving of my Soul: I pray God give all happineſs to this Kingdom, to this people, and this Nation: and then turning to the Executioner, ſaid, How muſt I lie? I know not.

Executioner. *Lie down flat upon your belly: and then having laid himſelfe down, he ſaid, muſt I lie cloſer?*

Executioner. *Yes, and backwarder.*

Holland. I will tell you when you ſhall ſtrike; and then as he lay, ſeemed to pray with much affection for a ſhort ſpace, and then lifting up his head, ſaid, where is the man? and ſeeing the Executioner by him, he ſaid, ſtay while I give the Sign; and preſently after ſtretching out his hand, and the Executioner being not fully ready, he ſaid, now, now, and juſt as the words were coming out of his mouth, the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body.

Arthur Lord *Capel*, his Speech on the Scaffold immediately before his death, *March* 9. 1649.

The Execution of the Lord of Holland *being thus performed, the Lord* Capel *was brought to the Scaffold as the former, and in the way to the Scaffold, he put off his Hat to the people on both ſides, looking very auſterely about him: And being come upon the Scaffold, Lieut: Col.* Beecher *ſaid to him,* Is your Chaplain here?

Capel. No, I have taken my leave of him; and perceiving ſome of his ſeavants to weep, he ſaid, Gentlemen, refrain your ſelves; refrain your ſelves; and turning to Lieut. Col. *Beecher*, he ſaid, what, did the Lords ſpeak with their Hats off or on?

C. Beech. *With their Hats off: And then coming to the front of the Scaffold, he ſaid, I ſhal hardly be underſtood here, I think, and then began his ſpeech as followeth.*

Capel. The concluſion that I made with thoſe that ſent me hither, and are the cauſe of this violent death of mine, ſhall be the beginning of what I ſhall ſay to you: When I made an addreſs to them (which was the laſt) I told them with much ſincerity, that I would pray to the God of all mercies, that they might be partakers of his ineſtimable and boundleſs mercies in Jeſus Chriſt, and truly, I ſtill pray that prayer; and I beſeech the God of Heaven, forgive any injury they have done to me, from my ſoul I wiſh it. And truly, this I tell you, as a Chriſtian, to let you ſee I am a Chriſtian; but it is neceſſary I ſhould tell you ſomewhat more, that I am a Proteſtant: And truly, I am a Proteſtant, and very much in love with the profeſſion of it, after the manner as it was eſtabliſhed in *England* by the thirty nine Articles; a bleſſed way of profeſſion, and ſuch a one, as truly, I never knew none ſo good: I am ſo far from being a Papiſt, which ſome body have (truly) very unworthily at ſome time charged me withal, that truly, I profeſs to you, that though I love good works, and commend good works, yet I hold, they have nothing at all to do in the matter of ſalvation; my Anchor-hold is this, *That Chriſt loved me, and gave himſelf for me*, that is that that I reſt upon. And truly, ſomething I ſhall ſay to you as a Citizen of the whole world, and in that conſideration I am here condemned to die: truly, contrary to the Law that governs all the world; that is, the Law of the Sword: I had the protection of that for my life, and the honor of it; but truly, I will not trouble you much with that, becauſe in another place I have ſpoken very largely and liberally about it, I believe you will hear by other means, what Arguments I uſed in that caſe: But truly, that that is ſtranger,

ſtranger, you that are Engliſhmen, behold here an Engliſhman here before you, and acknowledged a Peer, not condemned to die by any Law of *England*, not by any Law of *England*; nay, ſhall I tell you more? (which is ſtrangeſt of all) contrary to all the Lawes of *England* that I know of. And truly, I will tell you, in the matter of the civill part of my death, and the cauſe that I have maintained, I die (I take it) for maintaining the fifth Commandement, injoyned by God himſelf, which injoyns reverence and obedience to Parents: All Divines on all hands, though they contradict one another in many ſeverall Opinions, yet all Divines on all hands do acknowledge, that here is intended Magiſtracy and Order; and certainly *I* have obeyed that Magiſtracy and that Order under which *I* have lived, which *I* was bound to obey: and truly, I do ſay very confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obeying that fifth Commandement given by God himſelf, and written with his own finger. And now Gentlemen, I will take this opportunity to tell you, That *I* cannot imitate a better nor a greater ingenuity then his, that ſaid of himſelf, *For ſuffering an unjuſt judgment upon another, himſelf was brought to ſuffer by an unjuſt judgment.* Truly Gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all men that are concerned in it may take the occaſion of it, of humble repentance to God almighty for it, *I* do here profeſs to you, that *I* did give my Vote to that Bill againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; *I* doubt not but God almighty hath waſhed that away with a more precious bloud, the blood of his own Son, and my dear Savior Jeſus Chriſt; and I hope he will waſh it away from all thoſe that are guilty of it: truly, this I may ſay, I had not the leaſt part nor degree of malice in doing of it; but I muſt confeſs again to Gods glory, and the accuſation of mine own frailty, and the frailty of my Nature, that truly it was unworthy Cowardize, not to reſiſt ſo great a

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torrent as carried that buſineſs at that time. And truly, this I think I am moſt guilty of, of not courage enough in it, but malice I had none; but whatſoever it was, God I am ſure hath pardoned it, hath given me the aſſurance of it, that Chriſt Jeſus his blood hath waſhed it away; and truly, I do from my ſoule wiſh, that all men that have any ſtain by it, may ſeriouſly repent, and receive a remiſſion and pardon from God for it. And now Gentlemen, we have had an occaſion by this intimation to remember his Majeſty, our King that laſt was; and I cannot ſpeak of him, nor think of it, but truly, I muſt needs ſay, that in my opinion, that have had time to conſider all the Images of all the greateſt and vertuouſeſt Princes in the world; and truly, in my opinion, there was not a more vertuous, and more ſufficient Prince known in the world, then our gracious King *Charls* that died laſt: God Almighty preſerve our King that now is, his Son; God ſend him more fortunate and longer days; God Almighty ſo aſſiſt him, that he may exceed both the vertues and ſufficiencies of his Father: for certainly, I that have been a Counſellor to him, and have lived long with him, and in a time when diſcovery is eaſily enough made, for he was young (he was about thirteen, fourteen, fifteen or ſixteen years of age) thoſe years I was with him, truly, I never ſaw greater hopes of virtue in any young perſon then in him; great judgment, great underſtanding, great apprehenſion, much honor in his nature, and truly a very perfect Engliſhman in his inclination: and I pray God reſtore him to this Kingdom, and unite the Kingdoms one unto another, and ſend a great happineſs both to you and to him, that he may long live and reign among you, and that that Family may reign till thy Kingdome come, that is, while all temporall power is conſummated: I beſeech God of his mercy, give much happineſs to this your King, and to you that in it ſhall

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be his Subjects, by the grace of Jesus Christ.

Truly, I like my beginning so well, that I will make my conclusion with it, that is, That God Almighty would confer of his infinite and inestimable grace and mercy to those that are the causers of my coming hither, I pray God give them as much mercy as their hearts can wish; and truly, for my part, I will not accuse any one of them of malice, truly I will not, nay, I will not think there was any malice in them; what other ends there is, I know not, nor I will not examine, but let it be what it will, from my very soul I forgive them every one: and so, the Lord of heaven bless you all, God almighty be infinite in goodness and mercy to you, and direct you in those wayes of obedience to his commands to His Majesty, that this Kingdom may be a happy and glorious Nation again, and that your King may be a happy King in so good and so obedient people; God almighty keep you all, God almighty preserve this Kingdom, God almighty preserve you all.

Then turning about, and looking for the Executioner (who was gone off the Scaffold) said, Which is the Gentleman? which is the Man? Answer was made, He is coming; He then said, Stay, I must pull off my Dublet first, and my Wastcoat: and then the Executioner being come upon the scaffold, the Lord *Capell* said, O friend! prethee come hither: Then the Executioner kneeling down, the Lord *Capel* said, I forgive thee from my soul, and not only forgive thee, but I shall pray to God to give thee all grace for a better life: There is five pounds for thee; and truly, for my cloaths and those things, if there be any thing due to you for it, you shall be fully recompensed: but I desire my body may not be stripped here, and no body to take notice of my body but my own servants: Look you friend, this I shall desire of you, that when I lie down, that you would give me a time for a particular short prayer.

Lieur:

Lieut.Col. Beecher. *Make your own ſigne, my Lord.*

Capell. Stay a little: Which ſide do you ſtand upon? (ſpeaking to the Executioner) Stay, I think I ſhould lay my hands forward that way (*pointing fore-right*) and anſwer being made, Yes; he ſtood ſtill a little while, and then ſaid, God almighty bleſs all this People, God almighty ſtench this bloud, God almighty ſtench, ſtench, ſteneh this iſſue of bloud; this will not do the buſineſs, God almighty find out another way to do it. And then turning to one of his Servants, ſaid, *Baldwin*, I cannot ſee any thing that belongs to my wife; but I muſt deſire thee to beſeech her to reſt wholly upon Jeſus Chriſt, and be contented and fully ſatisfied: and then ſpeaking to his Servants, he ſaid, God keep you; and Gentlemen, let me now do a buſineſs quickly, privately, and pray let me have your prayers at the moment of death, that God would receive my ſoul.

L.Col. Beecher. *I wiſh it.*

Capell. Pray at the moment of ſtriking, joyne your prayers, but make no noiſe (turning to his Servants) it is inconvenient at this time.

Servant. *My Lord, put on your cap.*

Capell. Should I, what will that do me good? Stay a little, is it well as it is now? *As he was putting up his haire.*

And then turning to the Executioner, he ſaid, Honeſt man, I have forgiven thee, therefore ſtrike boldly; from my ſoul I do it.

Then a Gentleman ſpeaking to him, he ſaid, Nay, prethee be contented, be quiet good Mr.——— be quiet.

Then turning to the Executioner, he ſaid, Well, you are ready when I am ready, are you not? and ſtretching out his hands, he ſaid, Then pray ſtand off Gentlemen. Then going to the front of the ſcaffold, he ſaid to the People, Gentlemen, though I doubt not of it, yet

I think it convenient to ask it of you, That you would all joyn in Prayers with me, That God would mercifully receive my ſoul, and that for his alone mercies in Chriſt Jeſus. God almighty keep you all.

Executioner. *My Lord, ſhall I put up your haire?*

Capell. I, I, prethee do; and then as he ſtood, lifting up his hands and eyes, he ſaid, O God, *I* do with a perfect and a willing heart ſubmit to thy will: O God! I do moſt willingly humble my ſelf: and then kneeling down, ſaid, I will try firſt how I can lie; and laying his head over the block ſaid, Am I well now?

Executioner. *Yes.*

And then as he lay with both his hands ſtretched out, he ſaid to the Executioner, Here lies both my hands out, when I lift up my hand thus, [*lifting up his right hand*] then you may ſtrike.

And then after he had ſaid a ſhort prayer, he lifted up his right hand, and the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body, which was taken up by his ſervants, and put (with his body) into a coffin, as the former.

A Liſt of the names of Judges of the High Court of Juſtice, for the Tryall of *Iames* Earl of *Cambridge*, *Henry* Earl of *Holland*, *George* Lord *Goring*, *Arthur* Lord *Capell*, and Sir *Iohn Owen* Knight.

Fo. Bradſhaw Ser. at Law.
Rich. Keeble Ser. at Law.
Fo. Pulliſton Ser. at Law.
Matthew Shepherd.
Will. Underwood.
Fo. Hayes.
Geo. Langham.
Fo. Langley.
Sam. Moys.
Maurice Tompſon.
Richard Shute.
Mark Hilderſley.
Thomas Allen.
Daniel Taylor.
Edmund Warring.
Nathanael Lacey.

Io.

Jo. Stone.
Cornelius Cook.
William Wybeard.
Jo. Blackwell Eſquire.
James Prince.
Nathanael Whetham.
Silvanus Taylor.
Thomas Ayres.
Edward Creſſet.
William Penoyre Eſquire.
Sir Ed. Barkham Barriſter.
Ralph Harriſon.
Maximilian Beard.
Sir William Roe.
Fra. Hacker Eſquire.
Jo. Whitby.
John Harriſon.
Richard Downes.
Sparrow
William Web.
Thomas Cook.
Robert Titchborn.
George Manley.
George Cooper.
Owen Roe.
Thomas Pride.
Jo. Hewſon.
Thomas Sanders Eſquire.
Thomas Titchborn Eſquire
Tho. Andrews Alderman
William Spence.
Nicolas Martin.
Joſias Barnars.
Hardwick:
Robert Norwood.
Stephen Eſtwick.
Thomas Nowell.
Thomas Arnold.
Thomas Brown Eſquire.
Thomas Ayre.
William Bartlet Eſquire.
Sir Jo. Thorowgood Knig.
Vincent Potter.
William Potter.
Solomon Smith.
Hobart Eſquire
Sir Jo. Saltonſtall Knight.
Sampſon Sheffield Eſquire

You and every of you are required to appeare upon Munday the fifth of this inſtant Febr. *in the morning by nine of the clock in the painted Chamber at* Weſtminſter, *for the putting into execution an Act of Parliament, for the erecting of an High Court of Juſtice for the trying and adjudging of* James *Earl of Cambridg,* Henry *Earl of Holland,* George *Lord* Goring, Arthur *Lord* Capell, *and Sir* John Owen *Knight. Hereof the Subſcribers are ordered to give notice, and therefore deſire you not to faile herein. Given under our hands this third day of* Febr. An. Dom. 1648.

Luke Robinſon. Nicho. Love. J. Sarland.

The

The Speech of Colonel *Euſebius Andrewes* immediately before his Execution on the ſcaffold on *Tower-hill*, on Thurſday *Auguſt* 22. 1650. being attended on by D. *Swadling*.

AS ſoone as he came upon the Scaffold, kiſſing the block he ſaid, I hope there is no more but this Block betweene me and Heaven; and to the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower* he ſaid, I hope I ſhall neither tire in my way, nor goe out of it. After he had been a good while upon the Scaffold, turning to the rail, he ſpeaks to the people as followeth. *Chriſtian Gentlemen and people*, Your buſineſs hither to day, is to ſee a ſad ſpectacle, a man to be in a moment unman'd, and cut of in the prime of his yeares, taken from further opportunities of doing good either to himſelfe, his friends, the *Commonwealth*, or eſpecially to God; It ſeldom happens but upon very good cauſe. And though truly, if my general known courſe of life were but inquired into, I may modeſtly ſay, there is ſuch a moral honeſty upon it, as ſome may be ſo ſawcy as to expoſtulate why this great Judgement is fallen upon me; but know I am able to give them and my ſelfe an anſwer, and out of this breaſt am able to give a better accompt of my Judgement and Execution then my *Judgers* themſelves or you are able to give; It is Gods wrath upon me for ſins long unrepented of, many Judgements withſtood and mercies ſlighted; therefore God hath whipped me by his ſevere rod of correction, that he might not loſe me; I pray joyn with me in prayer, that it may not be a fruitleſs rod, that when by this rod I have laid down my life, by this ſtaffe I may be comforted, and received into glory. I am very confident by what I have heard ſince

ſince my ſentence, there is more exception made againſt proceedings againſt me, then I ever made. My Tryers had a law, and the value of that law is indiſputable, and for me to make a queſtion of it, I ſhould ſhame my ſelfe & my diſcretion. In the ſtrictneſs of that Law, ſomething is done by me, that is applicable to ſome clauſe therein, by which I ſtand condemnable: the meanes whereby I was brought under that interpretation of that which was not in my ſelfe intended maliciouſly, being teſtimony given (by perſons whom I pitty) ſo falſe, yet ſo poſitive, that I cannot condemne my *Judges*, for paſſing ſentence againſt me, according to legal juſtice, for equity lieth in higher breaſts.

As for my accuſers, or rather, betrayers, I pitty, and am ſory for them, they have committed *Judas* his crime; but I wiſh and pray for them, *Peters tears*, that by *Peters*, repentance they may eſcape *Iudas* his puniſhment, and I wiſh other people ſo happy, they may be taken up betimes, before they have drunk up more blood of *Chriſtian* men, poſſibly leſſe deſerving then my ſelfe.

It is true, there have been ſeverall addreſſes made for mercy, and I will put the obſtruction of it upon nothing more then upon my own ſin, and ſeeing God ſees it fit, (having not glorified him in my life) I might do it in my death, which I am contented to do: I profeſs in the face of God, particular malice to any one of State or Parliament, to do them a bodily injury I had none.

For the cauſe in which I had long waded, I muſt needs ſay, my engagement or continuance in it hath laid no ſcruple upon my Conſcience, it was on principles of Law: the knowledge whereof I profeſs, and on principles of *Religion*: my *Iudgment* ſatisfied, and *Conſcience* rectified, that I have purſued thoſe wayes which I I bleſs God I find no blackneſs upon my Conſcience, nor have I put it into the bed-roll of my ſins.

I

I will not presume to decide controversies; *I* desire God to honour himselfe in prospering that side that hath right with it, and that you may enjoy peace and plenty, when *I* shall enjoy peace and plenty, beyond all you possess here; in my conversation in the world, *I* do not know where *I* have an enemy with cause, or that there is such a person whom *I* have to regret; but if there be any whom *I* cannot recollect, under the notion of *Christian* men, *I* pardon them, as freely as if *I* had named them by name, *I* freely forgive them, being in free peace with all the world, as *I* desire God for Christs sake, to be at peace with me. For the business of death, it is a sad sentence in it selfe, if men consult with flesh and blood: But truly without boasting, *I* say it, or if *I* do boast, *I* boast in the Lord, *I* have not to this minute, had one consultation with the flesh about the blow of the *Axe*, or one thought of the *Axe*, more then as my passe-port to glory.

I take it for an honour, and *I* owe thankfulness to those under whose power *I* am, that they have sent me hither to a place, however of punishment, yet of some honour to die a death somewhat worthy of my bloud, answerable to my birth and qualification, and this courtesie of theirs hath much helped towards the pacification of my mind.

I shall desire God that those *Gentlemen* in that sad beadrol to be tried by the H. Court of *Iustice*, that they may find that really there that is nominall in the Act; an H. Court of *Iustice*, a Court of high *Iustice*, high in its righteousness, though not in its severity, *Father forgive them, and forgive me as I forgive them.*

I desire you now that you would pray for me, and not give over praying till the houre of death, not till the moment of death, for the houre is come already, that as *I* have a great load of sins; so *I* may have the wings of your prayers, to help those *Angels* that are to convey

my ſoule to Heaven, and I doubt not, but I ſhall ſee my Saviour, my gallant Maſter the King of *England*, and another Mr. whom I much honoured, my Lord *Capel*, hopeing this day to ſee my *Chriſt* in the preſence of the *Father*, the *King* in the preſence of him, my Lord *Capel* in the preſence of them all; and my ſelfe there to rejoyce with all other *Saints* and *Angels* for evermore.

Dr. *Swadling* (he being upon the Scoffold) ſpake as followeth unto the *Colonel*.

You have this morning in the preſence of a few, given ſome accompt of your Religion, and under general notions or words, have given an accompt of your faith, charity, and repentance?

To thoſe on the Scaffold, If you pleaſe to hear the ſame queſtions asked here, you ſhall, that it may be a general teſtemony to you all, that he died in the favour of God.

To the Colonel. Now Sir, I being to deal with you: do you acknowldge that this ſtroak that you are to ſuffer, is a juſt puniſhment laid upon you by God, for your former ſins?

Coll. Andrews. I dare not only not deny it, but dare not but confeſs it, I have no opportunity of glorifying God more, then by taking ſhame to my ſelfe, and I have a reaſon of the juſtice of God in my own boſome, which *I* have put to your boſome.

Doctor. You acknowledge that you deſerve more then this ſtroak of the *Axe*, and that a farre greater miſery is due to you, even the pains and torments of Hell that the damned there endure?

Coll. I know it is due in righteous Judgment, but I know again, I have a ſatisfaction made by my elder Brother *Chriſt Jeſus*, and then I ſay it is nor due, 'its due from me, but quitted by his righteouſneſs.

Doctor. Do you believe to be ſaved by that Mediator and none others?

Col.

Col. By that and that only, renouncing all secondary cauſes whatſoever.

Doctor. Are you truly and unfainedly ſorry before God, as you appear to us, for all thoſe ſins that have brought you hither?

Col. I am ſorry and can never be ſorrowfull enough, and am ſorry I can be no more ſorry.

Doctor. If God ſhould by a miracle (not to put you to a vain hope) but if God ſhould as he did to *Ezekiah*, renew your dayes; what life do you reſolve to lead hereafter?

Col It is a queſtion of great length, and requires a great time to anſwer. Men in ſuch ſtreights would promiſe great things; but I would firſt call ſome freinds to limit, how far I ſhould make a Vow, that I might not make a raſh one, and to offer the Sacrifice of fools; but a Vow I would make, and by Gods help endeavour to keep it.

Doct. Do you wiſh health and happineſs upon all lawfull Authorities and Government?

Col. I do prize all obedience to lawfull Government, and the adventuring againſt them is ſinfull, and I do not juſtifie my ſelfe, what ever my judgment be for my thus venturing againſt the preſent Govenment. I leave it to God to judge whether it be righteous, if it be, it muſt ſtand.

Doct. Are you now in love and charity with all men? do you freely forgive them?

Col. With all the world freely, and the Lord forgive them, and forgive me, as I freely forgive them?

Doct. You have for ſome late years laid down your Gown, and took up the Sword, and you were a man of note in thoſe parts where you had your reſidence. I have nothing to accuſe you for want of diligence in hindering the doing of injuries, yet poſſibly there might be ſome wrong done by your *Officers*, or thoſe under you to

ſome particular men: if you had your Eſtate in your hands, would you make reſtitution?

Coll. The wrongs themſelves you bring to my mind, are not great, nor many; ſome things of no great moment, but ſuch as they are, my deſire is to make reſtitution, but have not wherewithall.

Doct. If you had ability, would you likewiſe leave a legacy of thankfulneſs to *Almighty God*, ſomething to his poore Servants, to his lame Members, to his deaf Members, to his dumb Members?

Coll. My will hath alwayes been better then my ability that way.

Doct. Sir, I ſhall trouble you very little further, I thank you for all thoſe heavenly Colloquies I have enjoyed by being in your Company theſe three dayes; and truly I am very ſorry I muſt part with ſo heavenly an aſſociate. We have known one another heretofore; but never ſo Chriſtian-like before, I have rather been a Scholler to learne from you, then an Inſtructer: I wiſh this Stage wherein you are made a ſpectacle to God, Angels, and the World, may be a Schoole to all about you; for though I will not diminiſh your ſins, nor ſhall I conceale, nor hypocrize mine own, for they are great ones betwixt God and my ſelfe, yet I think there is few here have a lighter load upon them then you have, if we conſider things well, and I only wiſh them your repentance, and that meaſure of faith God hath given you, and that meaſure of courage you have attained from God, and that conſtant perſeverance God hath crowned you with hitherto.

Coll. His name be praiſed.

Here the Doctor prayed with him almoſt a quarter of an hour, after which, the Col. *turning himſelf again to the people, ſpake as followeth.* One thing more I deſire to be clear in. There lieth a common imputation upon the Cavaliers, that they are Papiſts, and

and under that name we are made odious to those of the contrary opinion: I am not a Papist, but renounce the *Pope* with all his dependencies, when the distractions in *Religion* first sprang up, I might have been thought apt to turn from this Church to the *Roman*, but was utterly unsatisfied in their Doctrine, in point of faith, and very much, as to the ir discipline. The Religion which I profess, is that which passeth under the name of *Protestant*, though that be rather a name of distinction, then properly essential to Religion. But the Religion which was found out in the reformation purged from all the errors of *Rome*, in the Reign of *Edward 6.* practiced in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*. K. *James*, and K. *Charles*; that blessed Prince deceased, that religion before it was defaced, I am of, which I take to be Christs Catholique, though not the Roman Catholique Religion: in the profession and practice whereof, I will live and die, that for my Religion. Then he turned himself unto the Executioner, I have no reason to quarrel with thee, thou art not the hand that throws the stone; I am not of such an Estate to be liberal, but there is 3. *l* for thee, which is all I have. Now tell me what I lack, *Executioner. Your hair to be turned up. Col. Shew me how to fit my self upon the block. After which his doublet being of, and hair turned up, he turned again to the people, and prayed a good while. Before he laid down upon the block, he spake again to the people.* viz. There is not one face that looks upon me, though many faces, and perhaps different from me in opinion and practice, but (methinks) hath something of pitty in it; and may that mercy which is in your hearts, fall into your own bosoms when you have need of it; and may you never find such blocks of sin to stand in the way of your mercy, as I have met with. I beseech you joyn with me in prayer. Then he prayed (leaning on the Scaffold) with an audible voyce for about a quarter of an hour;

having done, he had ſome private conference with Dr. *Swadling*, then taking his leave of his friends, Sheriffs, and acquaintance, ſaluting them all with a courteous valediction, he prepared himſelf for the block, kneeling down ſaid, let me try the block, which he did; after caſting his eyes up, and fixing them very intentively upon Heaven, he ſaid, when I ſay Lord Jeſus receive me, Executioner do thine Office, then kiſſing the Axe he laid down, and with as much undaunted, yet Chriſtian courage as poſſibly could be in man, did he expoſe his throat to the fatall Axe, his life to the Executioner, and commended his ſoul into the hands of a faithful and mercifull Creator, through the merritorious paſſion of a gracious Redeemer, ſaying the forementioned words, his head was ſmitten of at one blow.

Sir *Henry*

Sir *Henry Hide's* Speech on the Scaffold (neare the Exchange) immediately before his execution, *March* 4. 1650.

Reader, Take notice, That this Speech following is publiſhed in thoſe very words that the Gentleman delivered them, and though there be ſome abrupt breakings off, and other expreſſions not ſo ſmooth as might have been, yet I could not with honeſty alter a word; and therefore have tied my ſelf to his own expreſſions, that I may neither abuſe the world, or the dying man, or my ſelf.

THe Gentleman came in a Coach to the Scaffold, attended by the Lieutenant of the Tower, and the Sheriffs of *London*; and alſo in his company one of his Servants and Doctor *Hide*.

Sir *H. Hide*. I Am come to put in practice the Chriſtian Profeſſion; and as I owe a death to nature and ſin, now I pay it upon the ſcore of grace.

Dr. *Hide*. Bleſſed be God that hath inabled you to it: God hath and will inable you.

Sir *H. Hide*. Looking round on the People, he ſaid, A populous City, God bleſs it, and grant they may live to his Grace. Then turning to his Man, he ſaid, *John*, I pray now though I have not been a good Maſter to you, be you a good Servant, and accompany me with your prayers, and help me both in body and mind. *John*, Have you my things about you, *John*?

Then ſtaying for his Servants, they being not on the Scaffold, he ſaid, I had rather have my Servants then Strangers.

Then the Lieutenant of the Tower coming to him,

he ſaid, pray Sir rejoyce with me : I thank Almighty God I am brought hither to ſuffer for him.

Lieut. of the Tower. I am glad you are ſo comforted : Gods will be fulfilled in all things.

Sir *H. Hide.* If God call me to him, and I glorifie him, it is well : I ſeek onely the company of your Chriſtian Prayers.

L. of the Tower. I ſhall not be wanting in that, God willing.

Then the Chyrurgion coming (but not his Kinſman, who was called for) he ſaid, My Kinſman is of no uſe, you may be uſeful about my Body. I hope Mr. Sheriff that you'll give order I may have a little more room here.

Sheriff. Yes, yes, Sir.

Sir *H. Hide.* And likewiſe for liberty of ſpeech, and that it ſhall pleaſe you (for I am not acquanted with the Forms here of *England*) that I may ſpeak my owne ſenſe (I am now going into the preſence of Almighty God) a very little, without any diſturbance.

Sheriff. Why Sir, you ſhall.

Sir. *H. Hide. John*, where is my Coffin ?

John. It is here, Sir.

Sheriff. Sir, it ſeems theſe men cannot be found.

Sir *H. Hide.* But if Mr. *Barret* could be found. After ſome ſtay, Mr. *Barret* being not found, the Sheriff ſpake to him, ſaying.

Sheriff. You have your liberty, you know your time.

Sir *H. Hide.* Where is the place of ſtanding, that way or this way ? (pointing towards the Exchange and the Poultrey.)

Sheriff. Which way you pleaſe: you may ſtand which way you will, but that way you muſt lie (pointing towards the Exchange.)

Sir *H. Hide.* I am indifferent : It is not the way to Heaven where a man ſtands.

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One brought word to him that there was no help to be had.

Sir *H. Hide.* That is no hindrance to my felicity.

Dr. *Hide.* God enable you, that you may finde that joy and comfort which is due to the glory of his Holy Name; he will not forsake you that have put your truſt in him.

Sir *H. Hide.* I will open my heart and my mouth with thankſgiving (if this Gentleman pleaſe to give way.)

Then turning towards the Poultrey, he put off his Hat, and ſaid, *Glory be to God on High, on Earth Peace, Good-will to men.*

CHriſtian People, *I* come hither to die, I am brought hither to die; and that I may die, Chriſtian like, I humbly beſeech the aſſiſtance of your Chriſtian Prayers, that by the benefit of them my paſſage may be the more eaſie; yea becauſe men in that condition, which it hath pleaſed God to reduce me, carry more credit to their Speeches: In the diſcharge of my Duty towards God, I ſhall uſe a few words, and ſo diſpatch.

I pray all of you joyn with me to praiſe this Almighty God, to whom I deſire to render all hearty thanks; as for all his mercies, ſo in particular for this, That he hath brought me hither: That whereas I owe a duty to Sin and to Nature, that now I can pay the account: A debt to Nature, I can pay it upon the account of Grace. And becauſe it is fit to render an account of that Hope that is in me, I ſhall tell you, to the praiſe of Almighty God, That I have been born and bred up in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, I have no Negative Religion, beleeving to be ſaved by the onely merits of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt (*putting off his Hat*) and whatſoever elſe is profeſt in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* authorized

authorized by Law; humbly beſeeching almighty God to reſtore unto this Church her Peace. Proſperity and Patrimony, whereof I have been an obedient and a loving (however an unworthy) ſon: And now both my Hope being confident, and my Faith perfect, there remains onely Chriſtian Charity; Charity we carry into Heaven, Charity on Earth that I leave, beſeeching all whomſoever I have offended (whether I have or no) to forgive me: as I from the bottom of my heart do them whomſoever; bleſſing almighty God for the happy advantage he takes to bring me nearer to heaven; bleſſing almighty God, that he hath given me this advantage, as he hath been merciful to me before the foundation of the World, in my Saviour, ſo that now he hath in mercy honoured me, with a ſuffering for his Name, in obedience to his Commandement.

On this day ſeven-night I was ſummoned before that Juſtice, which condemned me on Friday laſt praiſed be almighty God, that by this way he hath brought me the nearer to Himſelf (*putting off his hat*) My Charge I preſume is publike, as my Puniſhment is viſible: if there have been any thing in the management of my part, being unskilfull, having diſcontinued my own Country many years, I ſhall beſeech the Chriſtian charity of all you my beloved Countrey-men, to impute it unto the right part, the ignorance that is in this skilfull way of managing: It was objected unto me there, That I had a vanity of delighting in ſtrange Tongues. I was beſt skill'd in the *Italian* (but free from that vanity, I thank almighty God) and therefore I would in defence of my life (if it had been the Cuſtome here, or the Judges favour) have uſed that Language.

It was objected, That I did not ſo freely as a thorow-paced Cavalier, own my Maſter: I was told ſince I came into *England* (for other skill I have not in your Lawes) that a legal Denial in Law might be tolerable;

I

I hope I did not exceed the bounds of that in any thing, for God forbid that I ſhould be aſhamed of ſerving ſo good, ſo pious, ſo juſt a Maſter (*putting off his hat*) for that I therein rejoyce, and I humbly beſeech almighty God to fill my heart and my tongue, and all that hear me this day, with thankfulneſs for it.

As to the Buſineſs, that another conſtruction had been made and believed here, then what was there, the righteous God knoweth it; if any weakneſs was in the management, that was mine: I was ſent to ſerve and protect, not to injure any, and as God acquits me of the intention in matter of Fact, as having done any manner of evill that way, however here underſtood, bleſſed be his holy Name, (*putting off his hat*) ſo thoſe Gentlemen of the Turkey Company, if they would ſeriouſly conſider, for they know it very well, the impoſſibility of my doing them any manner of harm. Whereas that of the Embaſſie objected againſt me, that my Maſter never honored me withall, I was never worthy of it, I was his Meſſenger, as *Internuncio*, for the conſervation only of his good Subjects, of all the Merchants, untill ſuch time as he could confirm that Gentleman now Reſident, or to ſend any other; and they themſelves know that there was impoſſibility in me (as I bleſs God there was an innocency in me) unto any ſuch intention to do them any harm; for my Maſters Commands were point blank the contrary; I was onely ſent for their good, as I never owned the Title, ſo the very Letters themſelves ſpeaking no other: I never did ſo much as think of any manner of Addreſs unto the *Grand Seignior*, but gave him the Letter from my Maſter; the reſt of the Engliſh Nation that were there preſent, may, when they pleaſe, aſſert ſo much. This I would inſert, that thoſe Gentlemen, as they have been loſers by the miſcarriages of others, may now have no breach of their charity with me; but if it be, as it

ſeems

ſeems it is now in this Countrey, a Sin to be Loyal; I hope my God hath forgiven that, when it is upon harmleſs employment, not invading any, according to his juſt Maſters Order; for indeed I have been always bred up in that Religion, my Allegiance hath been incorporated into my Religion, and I have thought it a great part of the ſervice due from me to Almighty God, to ſerve the King (*putting off his hat.*) I need not make any Apology for any thing in relation to the preſent things in *England*, for were I (as I ſpake before my Judges) were I as evil as my Sentence hath here made me black, it were impoſſible for me to have prejudiced any body in *England*, or to *England* belonging, in that imployment; but I bleſs God for his infinite mercy in Jeſus Chriſt (*putting off his hat*) who hath brought me home to him here in this way; it was the beſt Phyſick for the curing of my Soul, and thoſe that have done it, have no more power then that of my body. I leave nothing behinde me, but that I am willing to part withal; all that I am going to, is deſireable: And that you may all know that Almighty God hath totally wrought in me a total Dental of my ſelf, and that there is that perfect Reformation of me within, and of my own corruptions by the bleſſed Aſſiſtance of his holy Spirit, Idefire almighty God in the abundance of the bowels of his mercy in Jeſus Chriſt, not onely to forgive every Enemy, (if any ſuch be in the world, here or whereſoever) but to bring him into his boſom ſo much good and particular comfort, as he may at any time, whether the Cauſe were juſt or unjuſt, have wiſhed me any manner of evil, for I take him to be the happy inſtrument of bringing me to Heaven. It is tedious, but I have an inward comfort, I bleſs almighty God: (pray Gentlemen give leave, *ſpeaking to ſome that preſt upon him*) I ſhould never do it but to give ſatisfaction to all charitable Hearts. I have been troubleſom.

Sheriff,

Sher. *You have your liberty to ſpeak more, if you pleaſe.*

Sir *H. Hide.* But as to that part, Mr. Sheriff, that did concern the Denial (as it was affirmed by Maſter Attorney Generall) of my Maſters imployment, Truly landing at *Whitehall* I told that Councill, there was juſt Commiſſions to an old Officer by the bleſſing of God, I have by me, and I have other good things that God hath bleſſed me withall, more then all the good Chriſtiſtians in the world, that are not the *Grand Seignior's* Slaves; and we that are Merchants abroad, we allow our ſelves any ſufferance that may induce to our own ſafety, inlargement of Trade, or preſervation of what is ours. Why I had by the grace of my gracious Maſter a confirmation of my old Commiſſion of *Conſulage* in *Greece*: but as to the Embaſſie, no more then my Credentiall Letters did ſpeak, nor no more then that I attempted, an *Internuncio* they call it in thoſe places, which is a Meſſenger between the one and the other King. They both unhappily died of ſeverall deaths, and both violent too: And it is a cuſtome not unknown to you, Maſter Sheriff, and other Gentlemen that practice in the world, that Princes of courſe, for the continuation of amity do ſend Meſſengers where there is peace, that the tranſaction of thoſe publike expreſſions of reciprocal Affections may be performed; but for Embaſſie, God forbid I ſhould own it, I never had it, however they have uſed it as the happy means to bring me to God this day. I beſeech God in the bowels of my Saviour, to forgive thoſe people that have done it, I owe them no harm, ſo God pay them home with all the good of this, and an everlaſting life.

As for Power, I have been long abſent here in *England*, I meddle with none: Sufficient to me is Gods grace to the ſalvation of my ſoul.

I have been alwayes fearfull of offending almighty God, according to the grace he hath given me: but to learn new Religion, and new Ways, (that I muſt ſay

Maſter

Maſter Sheriff to you, and all others that hear me) I cannot diſpence with my Conſcience to give offence to Almighty God. I am now (if it may be with your Commiſſion, Maſter Sheriff) to pour out my ſoule to Almighty God in two or three words (the place is ſtraitned.) If I knew wherein to give any ſatisfaction to any thing whatſoever, wherin I have offended or no, I am here in the fear of God to do it. I forgive them with all my ſoule, and my forgiveneſs is clear, as I am now going to receive Happineſs at the hand of my Saviour: But if I thought it were ſatisfaction to Sir *Thomas Bendiſh*, and all the Company, or any who think they have offended me, I am come Maſter Sheriff to pay that Obedience Willingly; that Debt I owe to Nature, to pay it upon the ſcore of a Subject; becauſe Concience within me, tells me not, that for the intentions of ſerving my Prince, that I could deſerve ſuch a Death, though ten thouſand times more other ways.

Doctor *Hide. There was ſome ſuſpition that you might impart the way you were upon to ſome of thoſe Servants that were with you.*

Sir *Henry Hide.* I humbly thank you for remembring me of it, and if any be here of the *Turky* Company this day, or any Friend of theirs, I ſhall deſire them from a dying Man, to take this truth, That neither my Brother, my innocent Brother that is with me, nor other Gentelemen with me in my company, have contributed any thing to their diſturbance; it was my own buſineſs, whatſoever hath been done, that hath been to evil, or loſs, though I deny both of them in my Intentions: I come not here to accuſe any man, nor excuſe my ſelfe, but I praiſe God for all his deliverances; yet I know I ſhall do God a great deal of Service, and them a great deal of juſtice, in not involving any of my company in any thing of michief. I cannot anſwer Obiections; I find

a man

man may be in *Turky*, or in any place, all the World over, where they will give that Language which they hold fitting; but this is beneath me. Blessed be Almighty God, that hath called me to the Knowledge of him, and this ready Obedience which I pray, and merciful accepting of my Saviour, and patient Death: And I beseech you all, whatsoever you are, That you will accompany me with your Prayers, whereby my Soul may be assisted within me, in that passage to my Saviour whither I am a going. I am weak of body; I have discontinued long from the Kingdom; I am unacquainted with new Forms; I have desired to serve God according to his Commandments after the Old-way: I have begged mercy of God for all my offences to him; and have had my pardon sealed from Heaven by the Blood of my Saviour: I beg pardon of all whosoever, whether I have offended them, or no: I truly forgive them, and have besought Almighty God to powr his blessings upon them. I accuse no man, I finde fault, nor quarrel with no man, neither with the persons that were the occasions, they were but the Instruments; neither at the persons condemning. I accept thankfully the Sentence of Death upon my selfe; and I beseech Almighty God, that I may be the last that may suffer upon this score, or upon any other.

Master Sheriff, If there be any thing wherein I can give any other satisfaction to any Christian whatsoever, in any kinde, as I spake in general, I bless Almighty God from my own Heart. now so assisted by the especial Operation, and Motions, and Dictates of the Holy Ghost: if I can know any thing, wherein, or how to be now in my dying (not having served God so well in my life) serviceable to the Church of God, of Christ, and the full satisfaction of any whatsoever, I am here ready: I am unacquainted, but in my extasies to Heaven, there is that Glory I am going to. I beseech

Almighty

mighty God, that he will give me grace to bleſs his holy Name; as for all, as for Jeſus Chriſt, and in him all things, ſo particularly for this, that he hath thought me worthy to bring me hither for my faithfulneſs to my Maſter, that is the moſt pious and moſt juſt Prince in all the world. My Maſter hath ſuffered bitterly in *England*; and if there be any failing in his ſervice, the fault is onely mine. God knows, I have done nothing in the buſineſs, but by the inſtance of the Merchants; I delivered my Letters, and there they lie: To other things I am a Stranger. *I* hope that God will give me the grace of perſeverance in that Chriſtian Religion; in that loyalty to my Prince; in that love to all the World, that now (being to give up my accompt to him, that) *I* may with comfort be received in the arms of his mercy.

If there be any thing, Maſter Sheriff, that *I* may give ſatisfaction in, *I* am ready to do it according to the poor talent *I* have. I will receive my puniſhment in the way God hath prepared for me; and many ways I have been taken up. Truly I am bound to all that ſee me, and many thouſands more ſince I came into *England*, not an uncivill look (we had ſtrange reports abroad) not an uncivil look from any: God repay them all, and returne them from the Throne of his Grace into their own Boſoms. And God in particular bleſs that Honourable Lady, who was the occaſion of the coming of my Lords Grace of *Armagh*, with the Confirmation of thoſe glorious and eternal Meſſages of Comfort which now I am going to enjoy: being thankful to all thoſe that know me, and know me not, for ſince I am come hither, whereas I might have received prejudice in reſpect to my Loyalty (which is not the way, now) I have from them all received courteſie, the Lord repay them. I thank God I am otherwiſe bred, and my Allegiance hath been incorporated, imbodied into my Religion; and beſides the great deſires of other

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, that *I* might go out of the World, but that the world might ſee that the Grace of God hath had a perfect Reformation in me, and a willing and thankful Submiſſion to his Will, therefore *I* repent me not of it; but *I* beſeech Almighty God to bleſs and proſper all people whatſoever that to this Kingdom belong. As my Speech is imperfect, ſo is my Health. *I* have forced my ſelf in this Diſcourſe to give that ſatisfaction which *I* could. And *I* beſeech you M. Sheriff, if you can hear of any Gentlemen that are wronged, what *I* offer here, *I* am to anſwer it; and *I* beſeech you joyn with me in your Chriſtian Prayers, that *I* may have a paſſage whither *I* am now going to give an account, not only of every deed, but of every word.

Then turning to his Man, he ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide*. *John*, Which is the Executioner?

The Executioner being brought to him, he ſaid;

Sir *H. Hide*, Honeſt Friend, *I* have no quarrel with you, you are the welcome inſtrument, do your work; only let me ſee the place, that *I* may fit my ſelf, for *I* have an infirm body.

Sheriff. You ſhall when you have prayed; if you pleaſe to pray firſt.

Sir *H. Hide*. *I* deſire to ſee the Block, *I* can pray afterwards. Here M. Executioner is that money that is left; here is Four pound for you.

Then being ſhewed the Block, he kiſſed it, ſaying.

Sir *H. Hide*. It is unworthy for me to put my Head where my Maſters was Bleſſed be God, Bleſſed be his holy Name (*putting off his Hat*) *I* have an infirmity in my Body, but God hath enabled me inwardly. Pray M. Sheriff let me have a little more room.

Sheriff. Go to Prayer, and we will clear the room.

Sir *H. Hide*. *I* have (*I* thank Almighty God) done thoſe Chriſtian Offices belonging to me, at home, *I* come hither only to die.

Then kneeling down, he ſaid the Lords prayer.

Then having prayed a ſhort ſpace, he ſtood up, and turning to the Executioner ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide.* Honeſt Friend, *I* pray give me direction what *I* am to do, and do your Office; You will cure all diſeaſes preſently; pray direct me.

Then the Executioner going to ſpread the Scarf over the Block, he ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide.* Put it not on now, but by and by.

D Hide God Almighty ſtrengthen you.

Sir *H. Hide.* God reward you all.

Then the Executioner going to put up his Hair under his Sattin Cap, he thought he had been taking of it off; Whereupon he ſaid,

Sir *H Hide.* Muſt *I* have my black Cap off? it is very cold; all theſe Diſeaſes will be cured, the Lord be thanked.

Then going to lie down, his Man not helping him, he ſaid,

Sir *H Hide*, *John*, help me a little, *I* pray; Did not *I* tell you *I* could neither riſe nor fall; lay me down, and lift me up again, *John.*

Then riſing again upon his knees, he ſpake to the Executioner, having the Ax in his hand,

Sir *H. Hide.* Pray Sir give me the Ax.

And then taking the Ax in his hand, he kiſſed it, and returned it to the Executioner again, ſaying,

Sir *H. Hide. I* will only ſay, *Lord Jeſus receive my Soul*, and when *I* lift up my Right-hand, do your work.

And then lying down again, after a little ſpace he lift up his Right-hand, and the Executioner at one ſtroke ſevered his Head from his Body.

A Perfect NARRATIVE Of the Earl of *Derbys* Execution;

With his Speech upon the Scaffold at Bolton, *the fifteenth day of* October, 1651.

THe *Earl of* Darby *was brought to* Bolton, *on Wednesday last about Noon, his Guard being sixty Foot, and eighty Horse; about two of the Clock brought forth to the Scaffold, which was built at the Cross, part of that built with the Timber of his own House of* Latham; *there was not above an hundred Lookers on, besides Souldiers; presently after his coming upon the Scaffold, there hapned a great Tumult (the occasion whereof not being certainly known) in appeasing of which there were some Cut, many hurt, and one Childe killed. The Earl was no good Orator, and the Tumult put him out of speaking what he intended. He was much afraid of being Reviled by the people of the Town, but they ratherpityed his Condition. His Son came with him to* Bolton, *and carried his Corps back that Night to* Wiggan.

COming to the foot of the Ladder, to the Scaffold, he ſaid, I am thus requited for my Love; and he kiſſed the Ladder, and ſaid, I do ſubmit my ſelf to the Mercy of God; and when he was upon the Scaffold, he ſaid, Now that it pleaſeth God to take away my life, I am glad to ſee that in this Town, where ſome were made believe I was a man of Blood, I was ſlandered to be the death of many; It was my deſire the laſt time I came into this Country, to come hither as to a people that ought to ſerve the King, as I conceive, upon good grounds; It was ſaid, that I was accuſtomed to be a man of Blood; but it doth not lie upon my Conſcience, for I was wrongfully bely'd; I thank God I deſire peace. I was born in Honour, and I hope ſhall dy in Honour; I had a fair eſtate, and did not need to mend it; I had good Friends, and was reſpected, and did reſpect; they were ready to do for me, and I was ready to do for them; I have done nothing, but, as my Anceſtors, to do you good. It was the King that called me in, and I thought it my Duty to wait upon his Highneſs to do him Service.

Then there aroſe a great tumult among the people; after which he ſaid (looking all about him) I thought to have ſaid more, but I have ſaid; I cannot ſay much more to you of my good will to this Town of *Bolton*, and I can ſay no more, but the Lord bleſs you, I forgive you all, and deſire to be forgiven of you all, for I put my Truſt in Chriſt Jeſus. And looking about him, he ſaid, I did never deſerve this hard meaſure from above. Honeſt friends (you that are Souldiers) my life is taken away after Quarter given, by a Councel of War, which was never done before. And walking up and down the Scaffold, he ſaid, The Lord bleſs you all, The Son of God bleſs you all of this Town of *Bolton*, *Manchester*, and eſpecially *Lancaſhire*; and God ſend

that

that you may have a King again, and Lays; *I dye like* a Christian, a Souldier, and Christs Souldier. And sitting down in his Chair, he said to a Souldier that had been his Keeper, They are not ready (meaning the Block was not ready) and bade him commend him to all his Friends in *Chester*, and tell them *I* dye like a Souldier. And causing the Coffin to be opened, he said, *I* hope when *I* am imprisoned in this, the Watchmen will not lye by me with their swords. And walking up and down the Scaffold, he looked about him, and said, There is no man that revileth me, God be thanked. And looking upon them that were upon the Scaffold, he said, What do you stay for? it is hard that *I* cannot get a Block to have my Head cut off. He looking upon the Executioner, said, thy Coat is too burly, that thou canst not hit right, the Lord help thee, and forgive thee. Then bowing to M. *Henry Bridgeman*, he said, They have brought me hither too soon, the Block is not ready for me; M. *Bridgeman*, tell your Brother, *I* take it as a great Mercy of God that *I* am brought hither, for *I* might have dyed in the midst of a Battel, and have not dyed so well; for now *I* have had time to make my peace with God. And turning him to *James Roscow*, one of the two Clerks that writ his Speech in Shorthand, he said, Do you write what *I* say, it may be *I* say not well, but my meaning is good. And looking upon the Block, he said to one of his men, Lay down your Neck upon the Block, and see how it will fit; but he refused: And a Trumpetter that was upon the Scaffold laid down his Neck to try how it would fit; after that he laid down his own Neck upon the Block, and rose up again, and caused the Block to be turned; and laying his Neck upon it again, he said, Do not strike yet; And when he rose up, he went about the Scaffold, and said, *I* desire your Prayers, Pray for me; the Lord bless you all, the Lord bless this poor Nation. Then he gave his

his Handkerchiefs out of his two Pockets to his Servants; Then he kneeled down, and prayed privately; and then laid down his Neck upon the Block, and said to the Executioner, When *I* lift up my hand, then give the Blow; And just when he gave the Signe, one of his Servants said, Good my Lord, let me speak one word before; and looking up, he said, *I* have given you a Signe, but ye have ill miſſed it; And being upon his Knees, he ſaid, Honeſt Friends, *I* thank God *I* fear not death; *I* rejoyce to ſerve God, my King, and Country; *I* am ſorry to leave ſome of my Chriſtian Friends, but *I* hope the Lord will keep them, and bleſs them; The Lord of Heaven bleſs my Wife and poor Children; the Lord bleſs his People, and my good King. And laying his Head upon the Block, he ſaid, Bleſſed be Gods glorious Name for ever and ever. *Amen.* Let the whole Earth be filled with his Glory. And giving the laſt Signe, by holding up his hand, his Head was ſevered from his Body with one Blow.

FINIS.

It is Called the high Court of Justice
I doe Rather thinke it was the high Court of Injustice.
Sr
Jain of yr opinion

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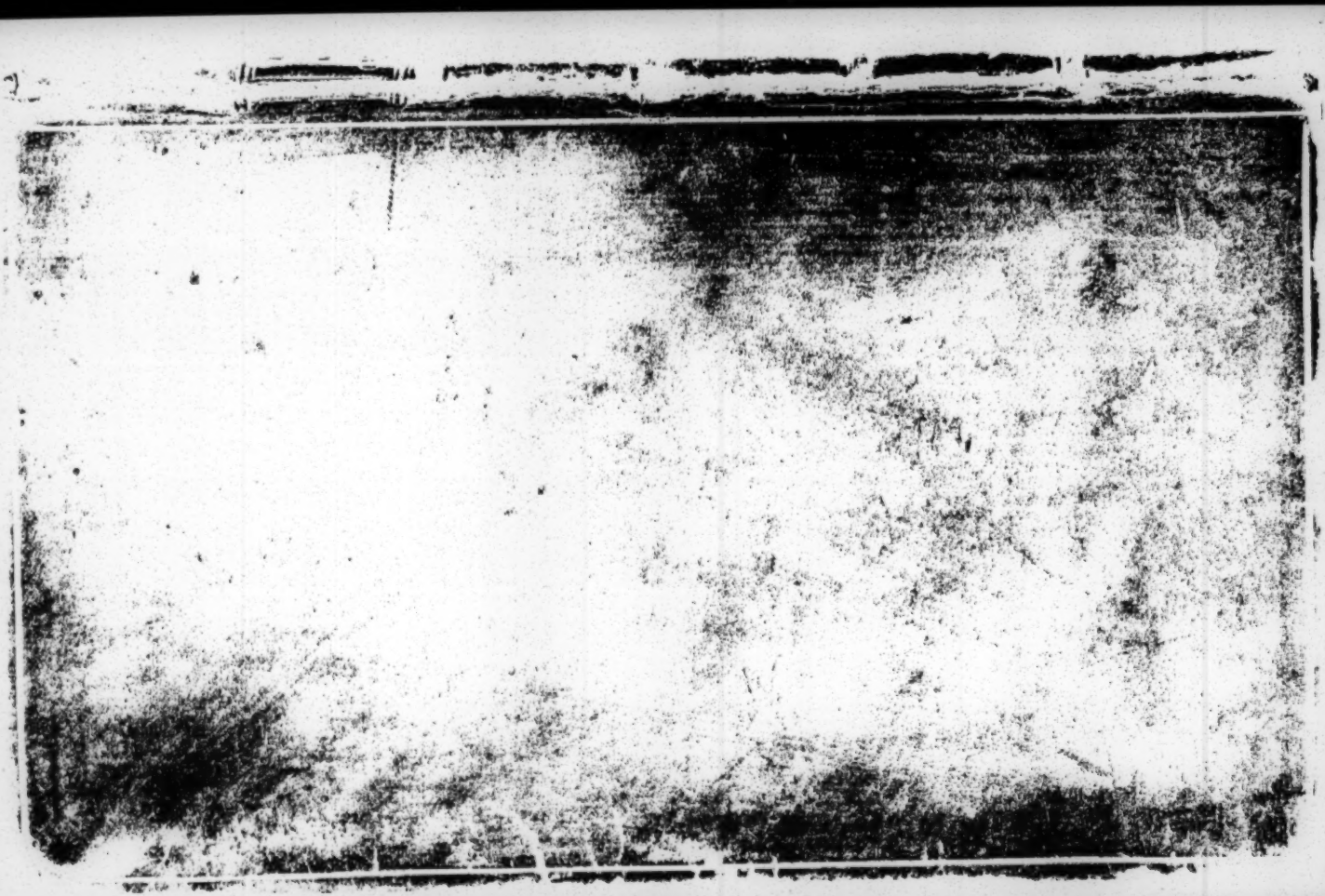
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